

# THE MONTH

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# THE MONTH

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# THE MONTH

VOL. CLXXXIII

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## EDITORIAL COMMENTS

### Retreat from Moscow

**T**HE four Foreign Ministers are in danger of becoming a touring company that makes regular appearances in the four capitals. It is true, that in previous meetings and after great efforts to surmount stalemate and frustration, they did arrive at certain united decisions. They have worked out peace treaties with Italy, Roumania, Bulgaria, Hungary and Finland and settled the status of Trieste. Yet two years have elapsed since the end of hostilities against Germany, and there is no German settlement; one cannot yet see the beginnings of such a settlement. The Foreign Ministers held their first Moscow meeting on March the 10th. For seven weeks they have been hard and constantly at work, with no tangible results. From one point of view, the Moscow conference has been a sad commentary upon the futility of all such conferences when they are carried on in to-day's spirit and without the common acceptance of moral principles rising above the plane of bargaining and expediency. It has been no happy augury for the success of the United Nations' Organization.

It is easy to put the blame for all this on Soviet Russia, and the Russian leaders must certainly bear a large portion of that blame. The United States and Britain clearly want a settlement of Germany; so too, on certain strict conditions, does France. What Russia purposes is enigmatic. How much of the Russian reluctance to join in common decisions is due to a set purpose of future aggression, which is helped conceivably by the delay of settlements on the Continent, and what proportion is attributable to genuine fear, it is difficult to determine. The Russian leaders are intensely suspicious, and small wonder. When your hand has been against every man's for many a year, it is not surprising that you imagine every man's hand to be against yours, and not altogether surprising if every man's hand actually is against you. The Russian leaders are Orientals—that needs recalling—not Westerners. In their own country they rule by force—after a long process of the survival of the most cunning. Abroad and in dealings with other Powers they hope to succeed through intrigue and haggling, never making a concession save for a price, or joining in an agreement except for some consideration. The price is usually put so high, and the consideration made so fantastic, that the only result is further argument. There is no honest, straight forward attempt to examine a matter round a conference table, to consider both the principles and the facts involved, and then jointly

to arrive at a decision. What has been painfully absent in this Moscow conference—and on this point the Russians are not alone to blame—was the consideration of what should be done about Germany, not only in the interests of the other Powers, but in those also of Germany and the German people.

### Points of View

ONE consequence of the Moscow meetings is that the point of view of Britain and the U.S.A. on the one side, and of Russia on the other, are seen to be more opposed than ever, with France attempting to hold a position of balance, yet inclining inevitably in the direction of America and Britain. Mr. Bevin has been very frank. "If," he said recently, "the policy were dropped whereby one Government makes a monopoly of its own zone, while trying to get a hand in the affairs of the other zones, then most of our difficulties would disappear." The "one Government" is the Russian. Russia broke away from the common policy accepted at Potsdam of administering Germany as an economic unity, and placed an iron curtain round her zone of occupation. This reversal of an agreed policy, along with the large-scale flight of Germans from East to West, is the major reason for the shortages and acute distress in the British zone. And it is to advance her demands for intrusion into the other zones, e.g., for a share in the control of the Ruhr, that Russia is blocking proposals put forward by the other Powers, as for example, the French claim to the Saar, and the American offer of a Four Power pact against any renewal of German aggression.

The first great stumbling block is the Russian demand for reparations from current production in Germany. Mr. Molotov has put forward a claim for the astronomical figure of ten million dollars. It is true that Russia suffered great destruction and devastation during the advance and retreat of the Germans. But it was agreed, again at Potsdam, that there would be no reparations from German current production, but only from the transfer of industrial plant and equipment. Germany's cities and factories are largely in ruins. A large portion of her industrial equipment in the East has already been taken by the Russians who occupy in addition the best food-producing areas and have the coal mines and the metal industries of Silesia. The extension Westwards of the Polish-German frontier has further lessened the possibility of reparations from current output. To-day, the British and American zones of occupation cannot function without considerable financial assistance, and it is common knowledge that the food situation, for instance, in the British zone is thoroughly unsatisfactory. If reparations to Russia were made a first charge upon German industry, this would involve even larger financial assistance from Britain and the U.S.A. They would in effect be paying the reparations. And it is quite clear that Britain cannot, and the United States will not, do this.



The second difficulty is the Russian manoeuvre, while retaining complete control of her own zone, to gain a share in the control of the Ruhr. The plan is to detach the Ruhr from the British zone and put it under Four-Power supervision. The one way, in which the British and American zones can be made self-supporting or nearly so, is to increase the industry of the Ruhr and to export on a large scale to neighbouring countries. Only so can the necessary imports be provided without great expense on the part of America and Britain. Britain and the U.S.A. are not unwilling to admit Russia to partnership in control of the Ruhr, but on the condition that the whole of German territory is administered as one economic whole, in the manner agreed at Potsdam. The third problem, scarcely discussed in Moscow because of the obvious lack of agreement on other matters, is that of Germany's Eastern frontiers, particularly the present boundaries between Germany and Poland. An article in the April MONTH, contributed by a Pole, on the present situation and problems of Poland after the recent "elections," argued strongly that the new territories, acquired by Poland, must remain Polish and under Polish sovereignty. Already four million Poles had settled there. Any change in the frontier would mean a further migration of these much-tried and long suffering Poles. He added that Russia and the present Government in Poland were making great use, in their anti-Western propaganda, of the unreadiness of Britain and the United States to recognize these boundaries. The position is not quite so simple. Because of the expulsion of millions of Germans from Czechoslovakia and Silesia, Germany to-day has at least as large a population as it had in 1939, cooped up in three quarters of its 1939 territory. That population can survive only through high industrial development and extensive exports. No other solution can be imposed upon the Germans except through a continuance of force. A highly industrialized Germany or a larger Germany: there are your alternatives, and each presents alarming possibilities. There is your dilemma.

It is possible, of course, that the Four Powers will be unable to reach any common solution of the problem of Germany. This is perhaps what Russia wants, for it would permit her to remain on a semi-war footing and provide her with excuses for maintaining forces in the countries of East-Central Europe. In that case, the Western and Southern zones of Germany would be settled and organized under Western influence. You would have then a smaller Germany; you would have created a Western bloc.

### The Austrian Treaty

**W**HATEVER the difficulties with which the problem of Germany has bristled, it is scandalous that the Moscow conference was unable to provide a peace settlement for Austria. The pretexts here alleged to delay the treaty have scant, if any, validity. The Russian claim to treat Austrian property as a German asset, because the Nazis

had taken it over after their occupation of Austria, is without serious foundation. The demand from Yugoslavia for a wide belt of Austrian land along the Drave in Carinthia and including the towns of Klagenfurt and Villach is preposterous. Frontier questions between Austria and Yugoslavia were carefully and thoroughly considered in 1919 and 1920. A plebiscite was taken, and a frontier fixed as fairly as possible. That this question should now be re-opened by a Government, as brutal in its methods, as unworthy in its personnel and as unrepresentative of the peoples of Yugoslavia as the "Tito" Communist administration, is an argument for an emphatic refusal of its unnecessary and unwarranted demands. That the Russians should support these demands is no doubt natural, seeing that the "Tito" administration was put into power by Russia, not by the Yugoslavs.

It was agreed by the Allies and publicly stated in 1943 that Austria would again be free and independent. Yet, two years after the conclusion of hostilities in Europe, Austria is still occupied by forces of four Powers. Austria is a small country, not rich in natural resources. The burden of supporting these occupation troops is very severe. This burden and the presence of the troops make it impossible for Austria to recover and to set her social and national affairs in proper order. The burden should be removed at once, the troops withdrawn. Europe owes a great deal to the Austrians. Europe will be healthier for an Austria, freed from the incubus and uncertainties of occupation, and able to play her part in the recovery of Europe.

### **The Change in American Foreign Policy**

THE most significant factor in international affairs for a long time has been the hardening of the foreign policy of the U.S.A. The reason for this is not the initiative of President Truman nor the election victory of the Republican Party; nor is it American Imperialism nor the oil interests of big commercial companies, though doubtless all these elements enter into the picture. Far more is the change attributable to a genuine swing of feeling and a popular demand in the United States. Americans have the capacity for mixing a large measure of idealism with their business dealings; they have hard heads and soft hearts. When these two qualities are teamed together, they make a formidable combination. The Americans have set great store by, and given generous support to, the United Nations' Organization; they are still willing and ready to back it. As much as ever, do they believe in the necessity and the possibility of a world organisation to keep the world's peace. But they have come to realize that the U.N.O. cannot do so, as at present constituted or in the presence of so many and such grave problems unresolved. The repeated use of the *veto* has made it impossible to decide momentous questions and turned investigations into a dreary farce, as, for instance, the matter of the British complaint against Albania and the enquiry of a U.N.O.

commission into the incidents, provoked by Yugoslav and Bulgarian agents, along the Northern frontier of Greece.

Critics of American policy, represented by Mr. Henry Wallace at home, and the extreme Left section of the Labour Party in Britain, are fond of accusing the United States Government of Imperialism. But "Imperialism" like "democracy" and "liberty" and many another term has fallen into a fog of ambiguity. The Moscow Radio charges the British with Imperialism, at a time when the British are getting out of India and Egypt with all possible haste, and accuses the French and Dutch of similar Imperialism, when they are attempting to produce some order in Indo-China and the East Indies out of the disorder promoted by national aspirations and Communist agitation. But it is apparently not in the least "imperialistic" on the Russian part to secure control in European countries through a combination of Russian pressure from without and Communist parties from within. If "Imperialism" signifies a spread of American influence and a resolution to stop a way of life, entirely foreign to the Western and American way of living, from eating further into the fabric of Europe and the Far East, then the United States is "imperialistic." The realist will add: "If there must be Imperialism, better the American than the Russian variety." For America represents the Western tradition of liberty and genuine democracy, with that reasonable respect for the dignity and rights of the individual and for spiritual ideals and principles, whereas Russia is an Oriental despotism, employing all the horrible apparatus of a totalitarian State.

The critics of American policy talk about Britain as a bridge between the U.S.A. and Russia, as a halfway house between a free capitalism and a totally planned economy, as though Britain should glow with a cheerful rosy pink by a careful blending of the White Rose of Washington and the Crimson Rose of the Kremlin. Nothing is more misleading than to set the opposition between the American and the Russian way of life upon the economic plane. The opposition is far more fundamental, and on the more fundamental level Britain is entirely at one with the U.S.A. In their outlook on political issues, on the relation of the State and the individual, on the problems of freedom and authority, Britain and America are united and together, and their common outlook, which is nothing less than a philosophy of life, is poles apart from the outlook of Marxist thought and Soviet practice. It was unfortunate—but perhaps not very important—that Mr. Henry Wallace, who, in the United States, is a force now spent, should have been invited to Britain to air his views and the views of the Left section of the British Labour Party upon the change in American foreign policy. In themselves, his speeches were insignificant. What he put forward may be read, week by week, and expressed more cleverly, in the editorial columns of the *New Statesman*.

It cannot be too firmly insisted that the opinion, brought forward by Mr. Wallace and his British sympathisers—namely, that the

differences between the Western Powers and Russia are economic—is thoroughly misleading. In Marxist eyes, of course, the only factors of significance are the economic factors; cultural, spiritual and religious elements are the mere reflection of some particular stage in the economic process of evolution. And so it is natural that Marxists should explain or explain away everything in economic terms. But this explanation remains as superficial and, in the last resort, as wrong as Marxist philosophy itself. There exists a fundamental difference in thought and outlook between the West and Russia. The Russians understand how fundamental this difference is, even when they misinterpret its character, seeing it primarily as a necessary tension between a capitalist and a collective economy—a tension which, in their view, can be overcome only through the triumph of Communism.

### More Reasons for this Change

SOME other grounds for this change are abundantly clear. The various “appeasements” of Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam have not worked. The only reason that could ever be adduced for them was that they were a necessary working compromise; that reason apart, they were nothing but unprincipled “deals” in the liberties and territories of other people. In the second place, the guarantee of free elections, given, for instance, to the Yugoslavs and Poles, has been turned by Russian connivance into an indecent farce, and British and American prestige has accordingly suffered. The “armed minorities,” which the United States is now resolved shall not seize power in Greece, have already seized power in Poland, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania; and their *coups d'états* have been converted, through travesties of elections, into permanent control. These “armed” minorities, masquerading as legally-elected Governments, are now directing violent campaigns of propaganda against the United States and Britain and endeavouring to convince the people, over whom they tyrannise, that no help can be expected from Western Powers and that they must reconcile themselves to friendship with Russia and government by Russian-directed “armed minorities.” One’s first comment upon this is that the new step, outlined by President Truman, ought to have been taken two years ago—to save other European countries, every bit as European and democratic as Greece, and whose integrity and independence are just as essential to world peace as those of Turkey.

Another ground which has made this American action advisable is the realisation of British weakness, especially in her Greek policy. Britain saved Greece from revolution in 1944. The presence of British forces stopped the “armed minority” of E.A.M. from seizing power. So much we have achieved. Yet we were afraid of any bolder action, and to assist the Greek Government against the rebels, on the supposition that this was an internal concern of Greece, when it was perfectly



evident that these rebels were being trained, financed and assisted by the Communist Governments of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, and when their purpose, both evident and avowed, was to convert Greece into the last of the Communist-controlled countries in the Balkans. It is not without significance that the energies of the extreme Left section in the House of Commons have been so consistently directed against the maintenance of British troops in Greece. They are a curious medley, these Left-wingers; some indistinguishable from Communists, some of them "fellow-travellers," and others apparently blind to the implications of Soviet foreign policy. The principal targets of their attack have been Greece and Spain: the former, where the presence of British forces prevented a Communist seizure of authority; the latter a country, in which such a Communist revolution was crushed.

This criticism from the Left is no doubt the reason why our assistance to Greece has been soft-pedalled in the British Press. Britain has given greater assistance to Greece than is generally imagined. The Greeks realise and appreciate it more profoundly than is known in Britain. During April, the Greek forces, now properly equipped for warfare in the mountains, have dealt with the Communist irregulars who, aided and abetted by the Yugoslavs and Bulgars, have been creating confusion and incidents along the frontiers. America's guarantee of help to Greece will further strengthen the Greek Government and give the Greek people a sense of security which they have rarely had during the past three years, and it will develop the work which British assistance began.

### American Issues

**I**N assessing the motives for this changed policy, we should not forget certain American issues. In the first place, the people of the U.S.A. have been seriously perturbed by the report of the Royal Commission on Soviet spying in Canada and by the knowledge that a similar activity is being carried on within the United States. It is curious, if not ominous, that so little attention has been paid to this report in Britain, where it has not been published, though the Stationery Office did import a number of copies from Canada. The people of the U.S. are further concerned with Soviet penetration into Latin America, on which Russia has expended lavish sums. Here, the Russians have suffered a severe setback in the change of attitude of the Argentine. For six months there was great outward friendliness between General Peron and the Russian representatives; the atmosphere is now distinctly cooler. The determination of the U.S. authorities to purge the civil service from Communist influence shows that this alteration in foreign policy is to have its repercussions at home, and that it is intended to be permanent. How far the influence of General Marshall, and the heads of the U.S. services, has been operative, and to what extent it is the natural consequence of the election victory of the Republican Party—these are interesting ques-



tions, to which, at the moment, too definite an answer might be hazardous.

But, returning to domestic issues, the people of the U.S.A. have been made unpleasantly aware of Russian activity and espionage in the United States during the war. The House of Representatives' Committee on Un-American Activities has thrown a spotlight on the figure of Gerhard Eisler, who is being charged with contempt because of his refusal to be sworn as a witness, when summoned before the Committee. Louis Budenz, formerly editor of the American *Daily Worker*, who was received into the Catholic Church in 1946, has denounced Eisler as the chief Communist agent in the U.S.A., and as having had close connections with Sam Carr and Fred Rose, the two foremost Canadian spies in the espionage network, the activities of which are studied in minute detail in the Report of the Royal Commission, which is the subject of an article in this May number of the MONTH. Eisler's sister, Ruth Fischer, formerly a member of the Praesidium of the Comintern, spoke of her brother as a most dangerous terrorist and gave evidence of the war-time activity of his organization in the United States.

### Parallels from Canada and Australia

**I**N Canada, as much as in the United States, eyes have been opened to the dangerous and subversive activity carried on during the war by agents of Communism. The internal peril of Communism has remained very much before the public notice on account of the trials resulting from the Report of the Royal Commission. The strict laws of evidence have resulted in the acquittal of several persons whom the Report found to have communicated secret information to Russia, but the authorities have continued their prosecutions. Out of seventeen trials already held there have been ten convictions, and seven acquittals. The material for these trials came from the revelations of Igor Gouzenko, a cipher clerk of the Soviet Embassy in Toronto and from the admissions of the individuals implicated in these disclosures. A more recent disclosure is that made by the former head of the Canadian Seamen's Union, who was himself closely associated with the Communists. He has now resigned from his position and has advised seamen to sever their connection with this Union because, he insists, the Communists are using its finances and organization for their own purpose and against the interests of Canada. The story has not been investigated like that of Gouzenko but it points to activity after a similar pattern.

Reports from Australia suggest a like political development—a more outspoken attitude towards Communism and a swing away from Australian Labour. A warning has been sounded in three successive State elections—in Western and South Australia and Tasmania. This swing is the more significant because the Federal Labour Party has been actively assisting the State party machines. These recent

elections were not lost on local issues but through a growing and widespread dissatisfaction with the incessant strikes that have been occurring in the coal, steel and transport industries and by what is claimed to be the Government indifference towards Communist influence in industrial matters. When every allowance is made for immediate post-war difficulties, it is argued that the Government has the machinery, and should have the courage, to deal with various grievances, without so grave a dislocation of the people's lives. Instead, there has been a long series of disastrous strikes, with the result that a land of plenty has been short of essential food supplies. First Queensland, then New South Wales, and finally Victoria have had to go without meat. An indication of disunity within the ranks of the leaders of Labour comes from the lecture campaign of Mr. J. J. Maloney who, some years ago, was appointed Australian Minister to Moscow. On the conclusion of his period in Moscow, he returned to Australia with some very pronounced opinions about Russia. While he still admitted that some of the ideas behind the Russian experiment were valuable, he stated that the Russian workers were mere slaves under the absolute rule of an oligarchy. In spite of opposition, he continued his campaign. On one occasion, he went to Melbourne to address an audience in the town hall on "The Soviet Myth Exposed." His meeting coincided with a visit of the Soviet Minister to Australia who was to attend in Melbourne a dinner on the Russian National Day. Mr. Maloney was requested to postpone his lecture but flatly declined to do so. Pressure proved of no avail. It was the Soviet Minister who in the end was forced to decline—the invitation to the Melbourne dinner.

It has been stated, so often and so inaccurately, during the past two years that the world has swung "Left" in reaction to Fascism, etc., which, for propaganda purposes, was represented, and quite absurdly so, as "Right." Except in France and, to a lesser degree in Czechoslovakia, most of the Left parties that have come to power have done so through active Russian support and against the wishes of the people over whom they have been established. On the other hand, in the United States there has been a genuine and popular swing politically against what is known as "Left," against controls and planning and the ever-growing power of officialdom and State supervision, along with a strong reaction from and against Russia. The same movement is observable and is growing in the British Commonwealth.

### Displaced Persons and "War Criminals"

THE problem of the Displaced Person is likely to be with us for a long time. Slowly, however, it is being realised in Britain that some of our economic difficulties could be eased through the employment of these D.P.'s. The reactions of the D.P.'s themselves may be gauged from replies given to reporters who interviewed

some of them, recently arrived in Britain: "I must breathe in order to live," said one woman, "in Europe one cannot even breathe freely." Another woman stated that the Russians had taken her husband away in 1941, and that the Germans had shot her parents, and conscripted herself for forced labour. "Don't let's talk about it, please. I'm so happy to be here. All I want is to work, and some day I may become an Englishwoman. We've lived in hell so long." Observers, e.g. Mr. R. R. Stokes recently in the House of Commons, have commented upon the fine qualities of these D.P.'s and their surprising level of morale, in spite of their camp existence for two and even three years; and despite also the pressure and propaganda to which they have been subjected to persuade them to go back to their countries of origin.

At the present moment, the problem of displaced Yugoslavs in Italy has come to the fore. Pressure is being applied, first to Britain and the U.S.A., and then to Italy, to hand back a considerable number of these Yugoslav D.P.'s, on the grounds that they are "war criminals." There are some 38,000 Yugoslav refugees in Italy, and the knowledge, both by them and the world at large, of the wholesale murder of Yugoslav refugees, who were prevailed upon to return to their country, causes great apprehension and insecurity. It is known that an agreement has been discussed between the "Tito" authorities and Togliatti, the Italian Communist chief, for an exchange of Italian prisoners-of-war, now in Yugoslav hands, and these Yugoslav D.P.'s, now in Italy. There are grave fears that, after the withdrawal of Allied troops, the Italian Government may no longer be able to protect them. On April 23rd, Cardinal Griffin, together with Lord Beveridge and Dr. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, interviewed the Prime Minister and urged that, prior to the withdrawal of Allied forces from Italy, all Yugoslav D.P.'s should be transferred to other countries.

The term "war criminal" is glibly applied by the "Tito" Government to a considerable number of these D.P.'s. Yet, this term has been prostituted to suit the convenience of the men who mouth it. In "Tito's" eyes, the men who fought loyally for King Peter of Yugoslavia are "war criminals" just as much as those who committed actual crimes under the command of Pavelić and the Ustashi. Among the 38,000 Yugoslavs who have taken sanctuary in Italy, there may well be some genuine "war criminals"; the great majority of them, however, are men and women who feel they cannot return to a Yugoslavia, entirely controlled by an armed minority of Communists.

Where are the "war criminals"? That is, the men who collaborated with and served the enemy and committed crimes of violence in that service? Many of them are now with the Communists or in those puppet Governments set up by Communists in other countries. In Eastern Germany many a prominent Nazi has dyed his shirt

from brown or black to red. Members of the Hungarian Arrow Cross or the Roumanian Iron Guard are now members of the Communist or kindred parties. Political extremes—or what might look like political extremes—are in the habit of meeting and showing themselves as one and the same thing. Waldemar Gurian, long ago, spoke of Nazism as “Brown Bolshevism”; we are now learning, if indeed we still require the lesson, that Bolshevism is “Red Fascism.” At different phases of the war, one can detect collaboration between Nazis and Communists: first of all, in the notorious Moscow Pact between Molotov and Ribbentrop in August, 1939; then, for example, the liaison between Nazis and Communists in France prior to June, 1941. A further significant instance has just come to light (c.f., *Daily Telegraph*, March 19th), viz., the text of an agreement, signed on September 1st, 1944, by leaders of the Greek Communist formation, E.L.A.S., and the commander of the German Aegean Army. In this document, E.L.A.S. agreed not to prevent the retreat of the German Army in the area of the Macedonian group of E.L.A.S. divisions; they would themselves enter the area only after the Germans had retired. The German High Command agreed to withdraw security battalions from Salonika, “which it will hand over to the E.L.A.S. reserve and the political organization of E.A.M.” Further clauses guaranteed the safety of German soldiers who joined E.L.A.S., “so long as they *fight against the people's enemy*” (not, be it noted, the Germans, but the legitimate government of Greece, which had been fighting against the Germans, with the Allies); and arranged for the transfer of heavy arms and war material by the Germans to E.L.A.S.

### A Serious Danger

THE Government has launched a campaign to convince the country of the need for hard and honest work. “We Work—or Want”—so runs the slogan. The crisis of the winter ought to have brought home this alternative to the people. All evidence goes to show that it has driven this message home. Yet there is one feature, recurrent in the country's economic life, that is disquieting. Strikes—one understands their necessity from time to time, provided that the reason is proportionate to the inconvenience caused, and provided that the normal method of negotiation has first been tried and failed; and provided, in the third place, that the strike is authorised by properly appointed and recognized Labour Leaders. Such strikes are unpleasant, but in a democracy they are inevitable, though their infrequency is as much a tribute to competent government and national discipline as their frequency is a commentary upon the absence of these two highly important factors.

Last year and this, we have seen a number of unofficial strikes, chiefly among transport workers. These have been promoted by



shadow strike committees, of very doubtful provenance, and often for trivial causes, without reference to the bodies which exist to arbitrate on industrial disputes, and even while the process of arbitration was going on. More recently, several stoppages have occurred because men have challenged the rights of management to appoint, promote or dismiss its own officials. The L.N.E.R. railwaymen objected to the appointment of Mr. Ash, a servant of the company for 34 years, to the post of chief cartage clerk at Bishopsgate. Billingsgate constables protested against the promotion to sergeant of a constable who has worked in the market for 20 years. There were other instances, in April: among miners in Penalta, the boiler-makers of Tilbury and in a London rubber factory. This loosening of discipline, at a moment of economic crisis in Britain, is deplorable and dangerous; it is a disservice both to the country and to the position and morale of the Trade Unions.

There are few Labour leaders who can speak with the experience and authority of Mr. J. R. Clynes, Labour M.P. from 1906 to 1931 and from 1933 to 1945. Writing in the *Evening News* for April 22nd, he issued a solemn warning. The time had come, he declared, to say clearly "what the plain man of England will forfeit by not doing his duty. This is a word now often forgotten in our Brave New World of 'rights' and 'claims'; but without duty there will presently be nothing left to claim." After quoting examples of irresponsible strikes, he roundly condemned those "who abuse the weapons we so painfully forged and strike at the public instead of defending the workman. The public can be hit too often; should the strike weapon become a nuisance or a public danger, that will end the workers' power. This is a truth and a warning." If we have unreasonable slowness at work and senseless strikes, the public will have to pay for it, "and workmen will be the first of those people." The country's standard of living depends upon the standard of output. "Go slow," unofficial strikes, absenteeism and similar methods of forcing results in trade disputes are "nothing less than criminal" at the present time:

Stoppages must be cut to the utmost: only on grave official direction should they be used. It is always easy to hurt the public until some demand is desperately granted, but the behaviour of certain workers recently has been little better than anarchy. Some unruly elements in the unions are making a mockery of agreements. They are hurting and ridiculing the unions which some of us older men have created "with blood and tears, toil and sweat."

Those are brave words and to-day very necessary words. "We Work—or Want." Consequently, we must work—in a spirit of discipline, responsibility, and union. Official Trade Union leaders owe it to the country to detect and deter these "unruly elements" or, if needs be, energetically to deal with them.



## A PROPHET OF EUROPE'S DISASTERS

JUAN DONOSO CORTÈS (1809-1853)

AT a moment which must have appeared to him the most critical of his reign and of the whole history of Prussia, the melancholy King Frederick William IV received in February, 1849, the credentials of the new Minister Plenipotentiary and Ambassador Extraordinary of Her Catholic Majesty of Spain, the Marques of Valdegamas, Viscount of Valle. The high-sounding feudal titles of this grandee of Spain were a sufficient introduction to the pale dreamer of a new Gothic age who sat amidst revolutionary convulsions on the trembling throne of Frederick the Great. The opinions proffered at his first audience, advising the King to rely on the rural population against the agitations of Berlin and to save the throne by energy and determination, had certainly pleased the religious-minded Herr von Radowitz, Prime Minister of Prussia, and the young knights behind the throne, one of whom was Bismarck. Blue-blooded Junkerdom was satisfied with an ambassador who had in his veins the blood of the Conquistador of Mexico and to whom on that account even his aversion to everything Protestant was probably forgiven.

The diplomatic mission entrusted to the Marques of Valdegamas was a delicate one. He was to act through Berlin on the Court of St. Petersburg to secure the final *de iure* recognition of Queen Isabella which the Czar, Nicholas I, brother-in-law of the King of Prussia, had hitherto refused; Nicholas had even given some encouragement to the Pretender Don Carlos and to his *Apostolicos*. No *Moderado* could be found more suitable for a mission of this kind than the Marques of Valdegamas.

Berlin still had the reputation of being the capital of learned Europe. Accordingly the Spanish Government was anxious to send there a diplomat who could not only impress the Court by a high aristocratic title (fairly recent, by the way, despite the illustrious blood of its bearer), but also the rest of Germany by the fact that he was already famous in the Republic of Letters under his better known name of Don Juan Maria Donoso Cortès. In 1849, at the age of only 40, Donoso Cortès, historian and philosopher, publicist, parliamentary orator and literary critic, already counted as a classical Spanish writer in his own generation. In a diplomatic corps into which a few years previously Chateaubriand had introduced a literary quality, he was destined to be a new light. For St. Petersburg it was a good recommendation that he could wear the mantle of Joseph de Maistre, author of the *Soirées de St. Petersbourg*; indeed the theocratic doctrine

of that book was the political vade-mecum of a good many Russians, though Czar Nicholas I considered it a dangerous work, since it had played its part in the conversion to Catholicism of many distinguished members of the Orthodox communion.

The diplomatic importance of Donoso's mission is now forgotten as are most important "matters" in diplomacy. What interested Donoso in Berlin was that most typical example, which he found there of a Governmental system, based on the XVIIIth century philosophy, which he as a Catholic polemist was beginning to challenge. He was convinced that the revolutionary events of 1848-49 would bring about "the end of a civilization of 300 years," the collapse of those secular and humanist Protestant states and societies which their own principles were now leading *ad absurdum*. The Europe of the philosophers would soon receive, so he thought, a dreadful shock from the two States which the philosophers of Voltaire's century regarded with such admiration, from the Prussia of Frederick the Great and the Russia of Catherine.

In recent years Donoso Cortès has been quoted in Germany as a prophet of our age. Karl Schmitt made him a precursor of his own doctrine and of his devastating analysis of the Weimar democracy, seizing upon every remark of Donoso which could be interpreted as anti-liberal and anti-parliamentarian. In so doing, Karl Schmitt presented a very one-sided picture. For other Germans, especially of the authoritarian Catholic tendency represented by Chancellor Brüning, Donoso seems to have been a source of inspiration. The doctrinaires of Schuschnigg's Austria read him with satisfaction as the author who most clearly epitomised the political and social doctrines of Metternich which after some unhappy experiences with present-day forms of Democracy many Austrians and Germans have attempted to see in a new and more favourable light.

Finally, since Germany and Russia have subsequently become the spectre haunting the rest of Europe, not so much because of what was retrograde and autocratic in them, but largely for what is *progressive* and *dynamic*, there is every reason why we should study again the Spanish statesman and thinker who more emphatically than any of his contemporaries declared that the Europe of the philosophers would fall, not by the hand of the Barbarians, but by its own inherent principles. Our attention here will be devoted to Donoso's attitude to the problems of Germany and Russia. It was his impressions of revolutionary events in 1848-49, and of his stay in Berlin in that year which inspired him to write the most complete and the most important of his books, his *Ensayo sobre el Catolicismo*—a work which makes him in relation to the revolution of 1848-49 what Burke and de Maistre were with regard to the earlier Revolution in France. Although in some passages he was too daring and paradoxical, this book was perhaps the first complete Catholic analysis of the liberal political order of early Socialism and at the same time the most vehement refutation of Absolutism.

## II

An anchorite lost in the arid steppes of the diplomatic world, an apostle preaching to the savage folk of the drawing rooms, an ascetic beneath the braided uniform of an ambassador, Donoso Cortès, after having given in his life the rare example of a sincere conversion, offered in his death the edifying spectacle of a truly Christian end. Physically he was of a small Mediterranean type, neither good nor bad looking, of an appearance which I could call ordinary, were his features not ennobled by the fire of his gaze and by the expression of the chosen soul . . . he was a profound and original mind such as the golden age of Charles V produced a great many in his country, and the present age very few. . . . More than to his own age, he belongs to the XVIth century, to the Renaissance and the Catholic Counter-reformation provoked by Protestantism . . . .

In these terms Donoso Cortès is characterized by his Austrian colleague Baron Hübner, Ambassador of Austria accredited to the Government of Louis Napoleon.

Juan Donoso Cortès was born in 1809 during the flight of his parents before the French invasion of Spain in the Convent of Maria la Salud in Estramadura where his mother had taken temporary refuge. His first memories were those of Spain's patriotic resistance, of the events of that long and horrible war that lives on in the grim paintings of Goya and, seen from the opposite camp, in the poems of Hugo. At ten, Donoso was regarded as an infant prodigy ; at twenty, he was a University lecturer ; at thirty, a Member of Parliament and a junior Cabinet Minister ; at forty, he was elevated to the peerage, made Ambassador of Spain, and Member of the Academy and was a Commander of several Spanish and foreign orders. His untimely death brought to a close this extraordinary career in a world from which he was about to turn away. He died at the early age of 44, at his ambassadorial post in Paris where the Spanish origin of the young Empress Eugénie was about to increase Spanish influence if not in French politics, at least over French society. Donoso died in France which he called the "country of his mind," and where the devoted friendship and combative pen of Louis Veuillot had assisted him in the last crisis and struggle of his life. Death alone prevented Donoso from embarking upon a new career, which he had now contemplated, that of a member of the Society of Jesus. His end, which the Austrian Ambassador called an edifying spectacle, was considered by others as the death of a saint. For several years Donoso led a twofold life, divided between the palaces it was his official duty to visit, and the poor quarters of Paris where he distributed in secret in true Christian humility, a great part of the goods he had in his own modest judgment undeservedly received from the world.

From his entry into public life in 1830, Donoso Cortès was a supporter of Queen Isabella and of the regency of the Queen-

Mother Maria Christina. Many Spaniards espoused the cause of Isabella because they desired to see the royal sceptre in the hand of a young girl under the tutelage of politicians. Donoso's reasons were of another sort. He had always considered the rights of the family as the foundation of State and society. To his mind Ferdinand VII, when he abolished the Salic Law in Spain, exercised the sovereign right of the father of a family and so acted as a good king. We referred above to Donoso as a *Moderado*. Generally speaking, this term applies in nineteenth century Spain to the advocates of a constitutional monarchy in the English sense. The more active supporters of such a monarchy, the *Exaltados*, were very much in the British Whig tradition. The constitutional Monarchy, as Donoso conceived it, was, however, neither completely Tory nor Whig, but, above all, patriarchal, limited by local liberties, and Catholic as the people of which it was the expression. For brevity's sake we may characterize it as *medieval* and compare it to the historic ideal dear to such English authors as Chesterton and Belloc.

The intellectual evolution of Donoso previous to his ambassadorial mission to Berlin shows different phases. As a young author he is rather an eclectic, not yet feeling any incompatibility between his French-inspired philosophy and his sincere but rather conventional Catholic faith. In his "Oriental Question" (1837), his "European Diplomacy" (1834), and his lectures on the history of modern international law, in the late 1830-ties at the Madrid *Ateneo*, there is no marked Catholic controversy against modern philosophy; it is certainly no major theme. Indeed, it was Donoso's involuntary stay in the Paris of Louis Philippe from 1841-45, where he accompanied the Queen-Mother, exiled by the pronunciamiento of Marshal Espartero, Duke of Vitoria, which aroused his strong feelings against the Government and the outlook of the modern industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. The Paris he saw was that of Balzac, frequently summed up in Guizot's watchword: *Enrichissez vous*. The typical bourgeois, lacking in respect for authority above himself and cynically unaware of duties towards the classes below himself, gave to Donoso as also to Balzac a sentiment of dismay which he could never overcome.

Personal misfortunes, the death of his wife in childbirth and soon afterwards, the death of a brother who, with the sole exception of Louis Veuillot, was probably his closest friend, hastened the process of Donoso's "conversion." The election of Pius IX to the Papal throne in 1846 inspired him like many another European intellectual with great hopes. The new successor of St. Peter might be the rejuvenating force in Europe's political life by becoming the liberator of Italy. Rome called upon the Liberals of Europe to rally around the Papal flag, and the men of the romantic generation, always attracted by surprising paradoxes and ready to believe in the ultimate harmony of great contrasts, were pleased with this new prospect.



Soon after came the year of Revolutions. The bourgeois government of Louis Philippe and Guizot failed and fell. In Rome revolution took charge after the failure of the Liberals to whom Pius IX had extended a friendly hand in the struggle for Italian unity and independence. This is the "drama of the unexpected," dear to the whole romantic generation from Hegel to Victor Hugo.

These revolutionary happenings in Rome proved the turning-point for many minds. Victor Hugo, who, like Donoso, had welcomed the Pope's appeal for Italian freedom, now, in this moment of struggle between Pius IX and the revolution, abandoned his royalist and Orleanist past and henceforth made the cause of the Revolution his own. Out of the same experience Donoso emerged for the remainder of his life as a "crusader" of the Holy Father. In the picturesque Spanish which it is so difficult to render in another language, he draws a parallel between the appeal of Pius IX to the Liberals and the call of Christ to the Synagogue. Damnation will be the fate of those who have not heeded it. Against Catholicism which is the supreme affirmation of truth, the opposite force is demagoguery, the supreme denial, the negation of God in metaphysics, of glory in history, of authority in politics, of good and evil in the moral order. And Donoso's verdict upon the events of the year 1848 were these heart-breaking words, (who would deny that a large part of these dark prophecies has indeed come true !):

But what about liberty? Does not liberty stand above everything else? Oh, this liberty, gentlemen! Do they know the principle they proclaim and the sacred name they are pronouncing? Do they know the times in which they live? Well, gentlemen, have you not heard the echo of the last catastrophes? Do you not know yet that liberty is doomed? Have you not been witnesses, as I was a witness in spirit, of its painful passion? Have you not seen liberty persecuted, scorned, perfidiously stabbed by all the demagogues of the world? Have you not seen liberty labouring painfully onwards on the mountains of Switzerland, on the banks of the Seine, on the banks of the Rhine, the Danube and the Tiber? Have you not seen liberty mounting up to the Quirinal to find there its Calvary?

Well, gentlemen, this is a frightening word, but we should never hesitate to speak frightening words when they contain the truth and so for my own part I am resolved to speak it aloud. Liberty is fallen! Yes, liberty is dead and it will not rise again the third day, and not in the third year and perhaps not even yet in the third century! Are you afraid of the tyranny we are enduring? You are afraid of a small thing. You shall see something very different and here I ask you, gentlemen, to remember my words because what I am saying now, the events I am foretelling, will come about in days which are not so far from our days. . . .

The reason of all your errors, gentlemen, is that you do not realise the march of civilisation and of the world. You believe that civilisation and the world are advancing when they are, in fact, going backwards.



The world is marching with rapid steps, towards the most gigantic and most terrible despotism which man has ever seen. In the ancient world, tyranny was fierce and without pity, yet it was materially limited by the smallness of States and by the non-existence of international relations. Antiquity has known only one great tyranny, that of Rome. But now, what a transformation! All roads are open and prepared for a gigantic tyrant, a colossal and universal despot. Think it over. There is no resistance, neither material nor moral, because of the steamship and the railway; there are no more frontiers, and with telegraphy there are no more distances. There is no moral resistance because all spirits are divided and all patriotism is dead. Tell me, am I right to be preoccupied by the near future of the world?

This speech of Donoso, delivered on January 4th, 1849, in the Spanish Parliament, was printed in full by Louis Veuillot's *L'Univers* in Paris. The report of this speech preceded Donoso's arrival in Berlin a few weeks later. To introduce his new colleague to his Government, and perhaps also to please Nicholas I by painting the revolutionary situation in words so powerful, the Russian Ambassador in Berlin despatched a copy of *L'Univers* to St. Petersburg. Donoso's mission in Berlin lasted only a few months when he was recalled to Madrid and soon given a new post in Paris. These few months were the most dramatic of the European Revolution and made him, as we have already said, the counterpart of Burke and de Maistre half a century before. Donoso's experiences are reflected in his diplomatic reports, in his *Ensayo sobre el Catolicismo*, and in his correspondence with the Prussian Minister to Queen Isabella, Count Raczynski.

The biography of Donoso is more the story of an intellect than of an individual. His method of observation is not the usual one, and the reader may well miss the local colour and small anecdote which make the best ambassadorial reports such entertaining reading. Behind a great and lucid mind constantly at work, one may fail to detect the private individual, and his pessimism which gives hardly any brighter note, is neither pleasant nor convincing unless the reader is prepared to penetrate deeper into its religious background. More than a diplomat and a politician, Donoso was a mystic as was the most remarkable figure on the opposite side of the barricades of 1848, Giuseppe Mazzini. The quarrel of Donoso with the Revolution, with Mazzini or, for that matter, Victor Hugo, was fundamentally a quarrel on religious issues. The *Ensayo* is, above all, an enquiry into the religious origins of political passions. For Donoso, monarchy is the "Catholic" mode of government. Liberal policy had its root in the remote, impersonal God of Deism, while Mazzini's and Hugo's democracy is political Pantheism and Proudhon's Socialist revolution is a rebellion like that of the first man against his Creator. Kings in this age of upheaval have to suffer what Christ had suffered on

Calvary. So Donoso writes to his sovereign, Isabella II, and to his colleague Raczynski he gave this advice: "Do as I do and turn your eyes towards Heaven. This is the way I look forward to the future of nations and of governments."

### III

In the beginning of 1849, the National Assembly in Frankfort discussed the establishment of the German Empire and offered the Imperial crown to the King of Prussia. The refusal of Frederick William IV to accept the crown offered not by the Princes, his equals, but by a popular assembly he despised, is a chapter too well-known in modern German history. The reports and correspondence of Donoso add only one circumstance to the facts which are familiar: according to these the principal reason for the refusal was the fear of European complications. Russia and Austria were not prepared to tolerate a German Empire allied to the revolutionary wave of the time and rendered strong by national enthusiasm. France regarded with suspicion a democratic agitation which claimed Alsace and Lorraine as German provinces. England disliked the prospect of a German navy which the Frankfort Assembly had voted, and still more the Prussian ambition to subjugate Denmark and thus control the passage between the Baltic and the North Sea. The Frankfort Assembly was composed largely of moderate men, among them his -minded Europeans like Dahlmann, yet these moderates had little force behind them, and the whole of Germany was full of feverish agitation in which daring social Utopias were coupled with the dream of a Greater Germany.

Donoso had expected that the King of Prussia would accept the offered crown. This might well have meant a European war.

Like Louis XVI, Frederick William would have been compelled to embark on this war as a virtual prisoner of the Revolution, and would have been unable to carry it through. In France as in Germany democracy was about to become the war and expansionist party. Russia was waiting in the hope that she could intervene, when all other countries were exhausted. Donoso foresaw European anarchy and the invasion of the Russian barbarians who would have needed little effort to take over a ruined Europe. "When the Revolution has dissolved all standing armies and when Socialism has deprived the peasants of their property, the hour of Russia will strike. . . ." So Donoso reports his impression of Berlin in the Spanish Parliament in a speech in March, 1850. Some years later, Louis Veuillot, in a foreword to the posthumous French edition of Donoso's selected works (1858), repeated the prophecy that Russia would appear as a Socialist

power after having been the supreme protector of absolutism.<sup>1</sup> This was the thought Donoso had often expressed in conversation with Veuillot. Astonishing as such a prophecy might then have seemed, Donoso was not unique in this prophetic vision. A great writer with very different ideals and sympathies, Jules Michelet, wrote at the same time in his *Légendes Démocratiques du Nord*: "She (Russia) says to-day, I am Christianity, she will tell us to-morrow: I am Socialism."

Militant Germanism seemed to Donoso to be composed of two forces, Democracy and the Army. It will be a fatal moment when these two forces unite. Rebellion against Christendom is the true meaning of Prussia's history: "her historic function was to incarnate Asiatic paganism against European Christianity. When she was conquered by the Teutonic Knights, she obeyed them as a vanquished slave and not as a faithful vassal. Powerless to resist Christendom, she assumed later a mission identical in a sense but different in form, to tear asunder Christendom by becoming Protestant."

Prussia's significance was essentially Protestant; it will last until Protestantism is dissolved in favour of some new doctrine. This doctrine may be democratic or Socialist and revolutionary, but fundamentally it will be always a rebellion against Europe. And behind Prussia, the nation that represented this revolt against the European spirit, lurked Russia, waiting for her opportunity. Donoso scarcely thought that Europe had the vitality and power successfully to defend herself against these threats. The future appeared to lie with Revolution, and revolution is always preceded by false ideas. Revolt drove Man from Paradise; false ideas or "sophistry" led the way to the Caesars. From Adam, the first rebel, to Proudhon Donoso saw the history of mankind as a chain of triumphant rebellions which ultimately destroy themselves in their own triumphs. Kings revolted against God by making themselves absolute; aristocrats revolted against monarchs by making themselves kings; the rich have revolted against the nobility; the people against the rich; and finally the most universal rebellion, like the first in Paradise, is that of XIXth century man against God. Each of these revolutions had overcome its enemy only to be overcome in turn through its own powers.

<sup>1</sup> "Between the despotism of Moscow and European Socialism there exists a profound affinity. Taken by themselves, they act in a similar manner, and benefit one another mutually. One day, their activity will coalesce; they will have one and the same action.

When, on the one hand, Socialism will have destroyed what it must inevitably destroy—that is to say, standing armies through civil war, private property by confiscation, the family by corruption and legislation; and when, on the other hand, the Moscow Tyranny will have increased in strength, as it is bound to do; then this Tyranny will absorb Socialism, and Socialism will become incarnate in the Russian Czar. Those two frightful creations of the genius of Evil will complete one another and be mutually completed. After having provided the Czar with his most valuable allies, Socialism will furnish his most ruthless instruments. Socialists will assist the Czar in persecuting conscience, which is liberty in its last resort. They will denounce all thought that is sufficiently independent not to pay him worship. He will give them, but beneath his masterful feet, that equality of degradation, which is the dream and the punishment of their envy."

(Louis Veuillot. *Introduction to Donoso Cortés*. P. 54.)

A letter which Montalembert addressed to Donoso expressing his admiration for Donoso's speech on the fall of liberty but reproaching him with a tendency to fatalism, furnished Donoso with the opportunity of summing up his philosophy of history (May 26th, 1849): "The first period of history begins with the Creation and ends with the flood. What does that flood signify? Two things: the natural triumph of evil over good, and the supernatural triumph of God over evil by an action which is His personal and direct sovereign intervention."

Henceforth this will be Donoso's answer which he opposes to progressive optimism. "Natural evolution" is a progress towards frustration and self-destruction. The more confident peoples and powers are in their proud expansion, the greater will be their fall. The worshippers of idols have denied God only to fall under the yoke of the tyrants of Babylon. Ancient paganism passed from degradation to degradation. From tyrant to tyrant it became the slave of Caligula, of a monster in human form in whom the excesses of lunacy were joined to the appetites of the brute. . . . A new paganism is arising now. It may fall even lower and end in still deeper darkness. . . . Probably the monster which will subdue its pride, placing on its neck a yoke of servitude, heavier and more ignominious than anything in the past, exists already amongst the dregs of Society." Donoso did not believe that the revolution of his time would produce another Napoleon for whom, despite his Spanish patriotic memories, he felt a sort of admiration. The new tyrant he foresaw was not a hero of the sword but "a monster coming from the dregs."

Up to the XIXth century most daring new ideas had come from France, which had realized a Catholic monarchy in the person of Charlemagne and personified the revolution in Napoleon. This French tide was balanced by the English ebb, representing in the family of Christian nations the principle of conservation. Flow and ebb are both necessary, as without an ebb the waters would swallow the land, and without new tides the waters would run dry. Yet the situation in Donoso's time was changed. France was unable to produce a universal principle or a man to personify it, while the England of Palmerston suddenly turned to the opposite side, to the side of Revolution, not for any genuine revolutionary sympathies but for political reasons and to prevent the unification of the Continent:

The sceptre of European leadership falls from the hands of the Latin races . . . It will be taken up by the peoples on this side of the Rhine (Donoso writes from Berlin in May, 1849). Henceforth Europe will receive evil and good from the hands of the Germans and the Slavs.

The consequences of Napoleon's failure, Donoso thought, were only postponed. Europe will turn "Republican" or "Cossack," as the



great Corsican once foresaw. Between Republican and Cossack, the difference might even be overcome. Under the feet of the Russian tyrant, with his secret police, the revolutionary Socialists of Europe may one day hail the triumph of equality which they could not achieve in liberty and well-being but which they will be forced to accept in oppression and misery. Then, however, will men realize that there is a third party in this great conflict. Besides "Republicans" and "Cossacks" there will be Catholics. For Catholicism, in Donoso's view, is the living synthesis of older historic affirmations as the revolt of Proudhon and his fellows is the synthesis of older negations which Proudhon himself defined as the last struggle against God, who, since the legend of Prometheus, "was jealous of man's glory."

The vision which haunted Donoso's mind on his return from Germany foreshadows that of Dostojewsky's "Great Inquisitor." His *Ensayo* was read throughout Europe, one of its most enthusiastic readers being Metternich, who, in a personal letter to the author, dated from Vienna April 28th, 1852, made the following observations (no words could give a better insight into the mind of the Chancellor of the Holy Alliance) :

My observation on your work is confined strictly to the one word "Catholicism." Let me explain my reason for it. I have a great dislike, which appears to me to be validly established, of these "isms," when I see them attached to some substantive, that expresses a quality or a right. In my opinion, they distort the objects which they are intended to signify. To prove my point I will quote only the substantives : God, reason, philosophy, sentiment, constitution, society, community, and omit very many other nouns that occur to me. Do you see what happens to these terms and how they are at once altered, as soon as the ending "ism" is added to them? They become : Deism, Rationalism, Philosophism, Sentimentalism, Constitutionalism, Socialism and Communism. Doesn't it appear to you that, by means of this simple grammatical alteration, the sense of these terms is entirely changed? Don't you agree with me that, through this apparently quite trivial addition, in itself so seemingly harmless, a very dangerous change has been brought about because of the elasticity these terms have now acquired?

These "isms" I find so objectionable, as I am conscious of the latitude they allow to radicals in their use, that I cannot easily bring myself to tolerate them even in connection with other words, which appear less susceptible of distortion, such as king, monarchy, country. Yet, even in these instances, I have come across some very doubtful advocates and partisans of "Royalism" and "Patriotism."

I would say the same about the term "Catholicism." The Catholic Church is an institution capable of being clearly designated and is therefore perfectly comprehensible. But the term "Catholicism" could be made to include persons and things more *catholic* than the Catholic Church or even *catholic* in a very different manner, just as in "Royalism" there can be found royalists, more or even less "royalist" than kings and monarchies.



This use of "isms" suits Protestantism, but it does not suit the Catholic Church; their bases have nothing in common. That of the Catholic Church is the principle of authority, resting upon faith; that of Protestantism has only the value, nothing more nor less, of questions that have been submitted to private judgment.

In this question of "isms," what do you imagine is the value of "Gallicanism," which is the road to schism?

To these objections Donoso answered that the word "Catholicism" can hardly be avoided to signify Catholic civilization and the Catholic influence on State and Society. He shared, however, the aversion to the "isms" which Metternich was so reluctant to accept. These "isms" were not, however, to disappear. On the contrary. A generation was about to rise which has seen Prussia evolve into "Prussianism" after the successes of Bismarck. It has been our fate in the XXth century to witness what is perhaps the last chapter in this development: the rise of the Monster, of the universal tyrant, of the "Cossack State" in both its German and Slav form. Donoso's intuition was right, and we have unfortunately every reason for turning back to the Spanish Jeremiah. The year 1848 witnessed the sudden outbreak of those forces which have dominated Europe ever since: Nationalism and Socialism and the Catholic-Christian reply to them. At the present moment this "third party to the quarrel" manifests itself with astonishing vigour. This is the party (or parties) of Christian liberty, described by Donoso in the following words, addressed to a French friend:

I want men to rule through the light, provided that they seek it where it is, that is far from the masses, far from instincts, far from the prejudices of the crowd. I want study, discussion and freedom; but study illuminated from on high, discussion enlightened by faith, and freedom restrained by a sense of duty and responsibility towards God.

BÉLA MENCZER.

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#### EDITORIAL NOTE

All contributions submitted to the Editor must be typed and be accompanied by a sufficiently large stamped addressed envelope—stamps (or Post Office coupons from abroad) alone will not suffice. Articles so submitted should be concerned with matters of general interest, and be the fruit of expert knowledge or original research. They should not ordinarily exceed 4,000 words, and must be intended for exclusive publication in "The Month," if accepted.

Literary Communications, Exchanges, and Books for Review should be addressed to The Editor of "The Month," 114 Mount Street, London, W.1, and not to the Publishers: Business Communications to The Manager, Manresa Press, Roehampton, London, S.W.15.

## ITALIAN SILHOUETTES

IN proportion as politicians fail—if indeed they try—to create good will between the Nations, it becomes more and more the duty of private persons to seek to do so, even in the humblest ways. And for every reason Catholics, in any country, ought to seek to know, love and win the close comradeship of Catholics in every other. I need not linger on the Italian history and tradition, nor on its beauty nor on its manifold bequests to civilization. I would far rather dwell on the varied excellencies of its populations—for how different is Lombardy from Tuscany, from Umbria, from Naples and the South ! And it is quite possible that our soldiers, when sojourning in Italy, did not always realize these qualities. They entered a land which was starving, a land which for long had been not only bled white by extortion but most bitterly humiliated ; a people that for many years before the war had been fed upon delusions and, when not deluded, had felt shame, anger and misery festering in its soul : a land, finally, almost hysterical with its sense of rescue and ready to accept a daze of dreams about a new immediate paradise. Moreover, the liberating armies entered in the South, and passed many a judgment upon what they met in Naples, which has always had its peculiar development, so strong is even now its Greek heredity. Since then, the dreams have died ; hopes have been slain by politicians (our own included) confused, unprepared, and weak ; or still hostile at heart because ignorant as ever ; or, worse, plotting to force even that peninsula—it, perhaps, especially—into atheistic Communism. Some are so fatuous as to play into those foul hands by talking of guilt and punishment. All our efforts ought to go to the loving restoration of an Italy better even than that to which we can look back.

I have received a number of short memoirs of young Italians—even of quite young boys, belonging to our generation. We should study them, for our *farouche* reticence will produce nothing similar. How profoundly moving are “Hugh Dormer’s Diaries,” yet what a sinewy leanness is theirs ! what a minimum is written around them ! We are left to surmise even his ‘vocation’—what would have happened had the book been called : “A Saintly Subaltern” ? Yet it is as *Un Capitano Santo* that the last of the books we mention has become well-known in more lands than one. It were, then, impertinence to say that our method and style should be those also of Italian writers ; yet neither should they expect us to translate their books quite as they stand. We must probe deep into the interior of the souls we read about : may an Italian Catholic, on his side, find what is best—God grant there may be a ‘best’ !—beneath our many masks.

Don C. Biavati writes of Mario Lucchini (September 10th, 1927-October 20th, 1942). Born at Piacenza, he went to Rome and became an 'aspirant' in the Salesian Oratory of the Sacred Heart there. He is not idealized. He was sufficiently naughty; slightly timid of the truth; cried when told to eat meat that he disliked but 'conquered himself'; was most hilarious, adored the sun, played football and began to learn boxing; was a fierce little patriot and devoted to the Pope. Was he to be a priest? "No, but a friend of priests." But afterwards, he asked to be a Salesian. Quite suddenly, on his way on the summer holidays, he felt a slightly stiff neck. On his return they diagnosed spinal tuberculosis. Cased from head to foot in plaster, he died after appalling agony having renounced the priesthood "save in his heart." That was the altar-stone on which he offered Christ, and himself. They had observed a certain 'maturity' in him (compare the recurrent comment on St. Aloysius and the Collect for St. Stanislaus); a tremendous enthusiast, he was also 'calm'—a *modesto tifoso*; indeed, his portrait has a certain unflinching limpidity of gaze about it, an expression of self-control which is remarkable. It is not to our taste to call boys (or anyone else) 'angels,' though perhaps Italian angels romp around more than ours do . . . but the *gaiety* with which he endured his dreadful pain—his refusal to admit visitors when he feared he could not disguise it—suggests the cardinal virtue of 'fortitude' in the heroic degree; and I put this brief life first because while childish, effervescent, perhaps imitative pity contains no promise for the future, it may well be possible to detect even in children hints of sensitiveness to truth, instinctive perception of right and wrong, courage and humbling unselfishness which denote a real 'character.'

Should Don D. Toreggiani have published even a short memoir of Gino Colombo? Yes: it is perverse to discount a life of sheer innocence, of constant arduous prayer; and demand, if not sin surmounted, some spiritual problem or conflict that we may analyse! Gino was born at Spezia, September 27th, 1921, and died on December 13th, 1940. His father held high rank in the Italian Air Force, and the small boy longed to be a soldier—Cadorna was his hero. He was the essential realist; the loveliness of Nature intoxicated him and reduced even his exuberance to silence. He could not stop drawing: he and his friend devised a model theatre—he was very ingenious in electrifying it—and carried out a whole 'review,' displaying an affinity with W. G. Ward who "never made so many acts of pure love of God as at the Opera." Like all these young Italians he entered with extreme enthusiasm upon "Catholic Action": his speciality was to teach catechism to small children who adored him. But during the Midnight Mass of Christmas, 1939, he made a singularly perfect self-offering to God, and very soon it was found that his lungs were affected. He was sent in May, 1940, to a sanato-

rium seemingly half-laicised : there was a chaplain, but no daily Mass, and he was in a public ward full of patients very unlike himself. True, indecent talk died at once in his neighbourhood ; but all-day discussions about God, suicide, the virtues, asked for all the apologetics that he knew. But the best argument was his personality. Enough to add that the remaining months consisted of prayer and pain. Towards the end, he had his Gethsemane of desolation. But the radiance returned, and he died in another hospital at Parma, leaving a record of which little can be said because his life was throughout so joyously 'natural'—he had meant to marry and have a whole 'series' of children whom he could educate exactly as he pleased—and so flooded through by the supernatural that it seemed one ever-closer companionship with Christ.

Pierino Ghezzi (his biographer is Don G. Spoldi) was born near the industrial Lombard town Cassano on August 9th, 1915. In 1918 his father died, a prisoner of war in Bohemia, and his mother had to sell her dairy and go to work in the local linen factory. The boy grew rapidly tall and incredibly strong, fond only of the most violent games, and was a born leader. He worked first as a carpenter, loving his hammer and the flying chips, and then, to his disgust, as a baker's boy. At 15, already a tempestuous young giant, he joined the local Catholic Action 'association.' In 1932 he made a retreat, was enthralled by the idea of 'friendship with Christ' and "felt himself a man." He began daily Mass and Rosary : then weekly, then daily, Communion ; soon, a monthly 'day of recollection' and a yearly retreat. Meanwhile, he was a fierce footballer, a whirlwind cyclist, a fearless Alpinist and, in the factory where he worked, an exceptionally skilful mechanic—he could mend anything. And, as the author with commendable frankness emphasizes, he kept his life unstained, though no 'privileged' man nor exempt by any miracle from the tumultuous blood of youth.

Yet his days were spent among 1500 working men and girls whose ideals could not all be his ; and he lived for the due periods in barracks. Well, his chastity was 'positive,' and as radiating as his charity (he was a hard working member of the S.V.P.), and his delicate tactfulness was noticed by all. Whence had this rough lad his sensitive approaches ? Undoubtedly, from his harness to the Sacred Heart. The moment he knelt in church, he was a man of bronze. We cannot tell what manner of prayer was his during those Masses and Communions ; but surely it was 'given' rather than 'made'. Was he meant, he wondered, for a priest ? No. When war broke out, he was engaged to be married, and hoped that the engagement might be short, and—a time of redoubled prayer. In his various camps or barracks he kept up his practices of devotion as best he could—on Sundays, free only at noon, he still was fasting. True 'lay apostle,' he exercised an astounding influence among his fellow-



soldiers ; in fact, it was the devotion of these *soldiers* that stimulated that of the parishes near which they were. He was killed in Albania ; he had been wounded, but still worked at his trench-mortar. When the news reached Cassano, his entire factory was ordered to cease work for a quarter of an hour, and all those 1500 with their officials recited the rosary for his soul. Not for some months was his body recovered—intact though those around him had fallen into decay. In Rome, opposite the altar of St. Aloysius, prince of the Empire, is that of John Berchmans, cobbler's son, who had so longed to be at least a military chaplain. If the Gonzaga is recalled to me by Pier Giorgio Frassati, son of an ambassador with so many opportunities due to wealth and social estate, then I need not fear to confront Frassati with this soldier working-lad, and pray that their altars too, some day, may stand face to face in many a church.

A straightforward memoir of Mario Augusto Comazzi (1923-1943) must surely have been written, for *La Scia di Luce di un' Anima Bella*, by P. B. Romanelli is described by its learned and literary author as a 'profile,' or more accurately still, an anthology. For the bulk of the book consists of the young man's poems, essays, 'thoughts' and diary. Enough, perhaps, to say that he too was the essential 'artist' by temperament, found the sensual life of which he inevitably saw so much nauseatingly vulgar, and was clearly not popular in his naval college. Yet from the outset it was the sea that enthralled him : at 19, "the youngest captain ever," he was in charge, it seems, of the largest steamboat on Lago Maggiore where his home was ; and certainly he looks very well set-up—I had almost dared to say, 'very English'—in his uniform. It is, in reality, because of his devotion to the Apostleship of the Sea and his 'golden vision' of a kind of 'order' of lay Maritime Missionaries, that I mention him here. Alas, one day, jumping out of bed, he slipped, hit his head against the sharp corner of his table and soon died. His poetry is certainly graceful and fresh : but I doubt whether it is from youthful literary outpourings that one can best judge character.

So I find more satisfying the life of Rino (Severino) Gallinatti by Luigi Barbero, whose style is most entertaining, slightly caustic, and to the point. Rino was born on April 13th, 1907, of the sturdy 'Canavese' stock. Physically robust, he seemed slow of wit and was very lazy. Also greedy. His uncle was up a fig-tree picking fruit. Rino, scared of heights, stayed below, catching the figs in a basket. At last his uncle asked : "How many have you eaten?" "Only 32. Throw down some more!" Sole remedy for *that*, castor oil. He was an egoist in small ways and careful of coins ; he was indignant when a small sister was born 'to diminish his patrimony' (but he became her most devoted squire!). In 1918 his father died : in 1921, his mother saw a 'change' in him and sent him off to school where indeed he threw away his indolence and studied hard, having con-

sented, so far, only to draw. Yet his life was correct, passive : nothing had ' polarised ' it : innocence had not yet become virtue. Indeed, having now obtained a job in a silk-factory, he felt himself more ' free ' and embarked on exotic cigarettes, noise, cafés and dance-halls. His mother, at the door of one of these, caught his eye. " Never again," he said, and real conversion took place, though he became neither puritan nor pharisee.<sup>1</sup> Rino did so well in the factory that at 19 (instead of the official 21) he was chosen vice-secretary of the civic hospital of Ivrea. The sight of the sick deepened his sympathy : communal affairs widened his interests : inevitably this young Catholic gravitated towards Catholic Action. The strange lad was still rather rowdy but could turn in a moment to prayer and brooded over St. Paul and the *Imitation*. He ended by accumulating 18 secretaryships at which he toiled with clock-work regularity, punctual, scamping nothing, tactful—and since all this was wholly ' un-natural ' to him, we must register in him a remarkable will-power activated by grace.

Thank heaven, he was not devoid of small personal absurdities. Shaving was a major operation, but he was terrified lest he should go bald. Meticulous about clothes, he clung desperately to a green and ancient hat. At home, and in clubs, he was hilarious with that dry humour which salted all his behaviour, and not for nothing was this massive youth nicknamed Carnera. Still afraid of heights, he meritoriously organised mountaineering week-ends, compensating for so much desk-work. In 1927 he obediently accepted the secretaryship of the diocesan Catholic Action, an immense increase, as of drudgery, so of sheer travelling from group to group. But to describe this in detail would outstrip our space : one point—it implied the active participation of Catholics in *all* good social enterprises, e.g., agriculture, and that special probity, and readiness for hard unselfish work which should characterise anything Catholic. Grace raised Nature to its maximum and best. Active in every department of Catholic Action, he even taught himself to speak publicly despite a slight impediment, and carried the more conviction since he was incapable of rhetoric. None of this intense work was feverish : none, merely exterior restlessness. He studied his Faith : his Communion was daily. With much prayer he prepared for the ' Great Sacrament ' and became engaged to a girl with whom he was, also, in full spiritual alliance. But by August, 1937—an exceptionally heavy month—he was exhausted. In September, he went to bed with Maltese fever. The doctor saw no danger ; but Rino kept presaging his death. When delirious, he spoke always of his Catholic Action work ; when conscious, he experienced (says the author) his Gethsemane and his

<sup>1</sup> We may find it hard to understand the severe condemnation of dancing by many Continental writers. We may feel that if a young man is upset by a dance, his education must have been at fault, and even, that to assume dance-halls or theatres must be harmful, tends to make them so. Well, here, too, we must try to understand one another's temperament and point of view.

Calvary : but humility, trust and calm supported him, and on September 18th he died, saying "Jesus." A satisfying book ! Spirited, but not facetious : frank, not intrusive : some illuminating comments but no banal generalisations nor pious clichés.

Return to a genius ! Franco Castellani (the book is by Don G. Pignedoli) was a scatter-brained boy, without 'order' in thought or impulse, fantastically quick at learning almost without studying—his brilliant mother's preoccupation was to keep her child's mind *quiet*—yet not superficial. Three points : his intelligence was 'synthetic.' Aristotle said that genius implied the power of seeing connections between things : Franco aimed at the 'whole' man : the 'integration' of life, e.g. patriotic and religious. Again, he took an amazingly accurate 'moral stock' of himself, even during the tempestuous crises of adolescence. And, he could pass at once from intense exterior activity to fathomless prayer. I would recommend this book if only because it shows what a clear-headed young man, passionately fond of his Italy and an ardent Christian, could think of Fascism and *why* ; and how pure and lofty could be the ideal of a young Italian living under that régime. By now, words like 'fascism,' 'reactionary,' 'liberty' itself have been so misused as to lack all meaning : and we may even fancy that the boy's vision of an Italy destined to take the moral and spiritual leadership in the world was illusory if only because we do not think that any one nation is able to do that. The system from which at first maturer minds than his hoped so much has come to nothing : God grant that Italy may not be hanged, drawn and quartered by methods far worse than what she has so far suffered. Well, even when Franco went to the war as lieutenant, he still looked a boy. His men adored him—he taught them poker even under fire, said the Rosary with them nightly ; he too 'radiated' purity and prayer and rapidly during those few exacting months became a man. He was killed on the Greek front, on April 15th, 1941.

The life of Guido Negri (b. 1888 ; fell on Monte Colombara, June 26th, 1916) is found in *Un Capitano Santo*, by Professor G. Ghibaudo (2nd edition, Turin, 1918, pp. 444). It lies outside our chosen period but is significant. The extreme piety of childhood remained with him : and such was his need of 'exteriorisation' that he wrote letters, spiritual and literary notes and diaries at quite amazing length and in a most exclamatory style. He *had* to write, and to write like that, or explode. Unless I err, the change in religious psychology, and diction, between his generation and ours, deserves close study. He combined a sort of panting exuberance with extreme asceticism. At the university in Florence, he made a vow of chastity which he renewed annually, then for 5 years, and 'perhaps for ever' : he, a Latin, drank no alcohol nor smoked nor danced, yet, in and out of military circles, was 'accepted by all'—well, certainly he was criticised for 'exaggeration'—he was always acclaiming the Pope, taking part in

processions, and went daily to Communion, became a Dominican Tertiary, was devout to little-known saints, e.g. St. Rose of Lima ; B. Matilda Nédonchel ; wore a cuirass of thorny leaves and flogged himself to blood. When you see his photos—this smart officer with bold up-turned Victor Emmanuel moustache, it is strange to think of that under-life, of the upheavals of temperament and alternations of black gloom and ecstasy proper to such a soul. Yet not in that does sanctity consist ; and if at once that title, "A holy captain" (we, doubtless, *could* have said : "Captain of Christ"), became universally accepted so that his Cause has been introduced, we must acknowledge that all that vehement 'exteriorisation' implied no mere bursting bubbles of emotion, but a genuine welling-forth of the Spirit.

These shreds, torn from brief *mémoires*, may suffice to hint to us how strong is Catholic life in Italy—so traditional, yet suited to such different personalities : so sensitive yet so robust, so wiry : combining (especially of late) an intense practice of prayer and sacramental habit, with such variety and vigour of apostolate : so simple and natural a use of the Name of Jesus and knowledge of His presence and power amongst us, and so personal an enthusiasm for His Vicar, the Roman Pontiff. We ourselves have seen in Italy an ignoble anti-clericalism and a clergy in many ways crippled : we have feared and guessed the consequences of a feeble modernism, a vulgar mechanisation, even the evaporation of the very notion of the supernatural (so much more likely in our misty-minded North than to passionate yet realist Italy), and indeed, have marked with interest the strange survival of ancient pagan elements. None of this do we forget. And none of this has quenched the Spirit nor the ever-renewed fountain of its flame. It is partly by accident that the names we have chosen belong on the whole to northern Italy, though we do not disregard the strange phenomenon of fervour so often more virile in, precisely, the northern part of many a land. Nor, because we see so much to envy in Italy do we fear to hope that we too have qualities suited to our race which can make a contribution to other nations. It is of the essence of the Church that she exhausts her 'Catholicism' in no one people. All we ask, here, is that we should make a positive effort to study, if possible to meet, and to love and wish to serve Catholics in every other land that we may reach. And it is of the highest importance that Italian Catholics should know *now*, in what may be an hour of disheartenment and danger, how they inspire us, and how much we wish to serve them in any way we can.<sup>1</sup>

C. C. MARTINDALE.

<sup>1</sup> To mention only one source of such *mémoires*, we may allude to the *Società Editrice A.V.E.*, Rome, though there are others no less abundant in inexpensive vigorously written books.



## ST. JOHN EUDES AND DEVOTION TO THE SACRED HEART

**I**N speaking or writing of St. John Eudes and his work we must always remember that we are dealing with a saint of God, and with a saint who did much for the devotion to the Sacred Heart. In the English translation of his book upon the Sacred Heart, which is the occasion of the present article,<sup>1</sup> attention is rightly called to the titles of Father and Doctor and Apostle of the devotion to the Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary, bestowed upon him by Pope Pius X in the decree of his beatification, together with the remark that he was the first to think of their liturgical cult, "not without some divine inspiration."<sup>2</sup> In England the Good Shepherd nuns, who claim him for founder, are the best known monument of his holy zeal; but the publication of his principal works in English, now undertaken by the Eudist Fathers, will doubtless produce a wider veneration for him and his work, to the profit of many souls. The veil is lifted.

The very fact, as is remarked in the Preface, that "for many years the devotional writings of St. John Eudes were practically unknown," is one reason why he and his work were not so familiar as they are to-day. But there was of course another reason. In the words of Dr. Phelan's Introduction, "the enormous importance of the mission which St. Margaret Mary received from Our Lord Himself, and the great zeal with which Father de la Colombière, and many other priests of the Society of Jesus, laboured to fulfil the express desires of the Sacred Heart for spread of this devotion to the universal Church, have unduly obscured the rôle of St. John Eudes as the Father, Doctor and Apostle of this beautiful devotion."

St. Margaret Mary did of course accept this mission as coming from Our Lord Himself, and the Blessed Father de la Colombière likewise so accepted her mission, as did many other priests of the Society. They regarded it as a sacred call to spread the devotion, and the Society itself has officially accepted it as such. Still, we are not concerned to deny that incidentally their "great zeal," recognized by Dr. Phelan, has "unduly obscured the rôle of St. John Eudes," in the sense that it has inevitably tended to some extent to draw attention away from him. On the contrary, we are well content that his work and merits should now be duly proclaimed, and his works be read.

<sup>1</sup> *The Sacred Heart of Jesus*. By Saint John Eudes. Translated by Dom Richard Flower, O.S.B., M.A. With an Introduction by the Rev. Gerald B. Phelan, President of the Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, Toronto, Canada. P. J. Kenedy & Sons, New York, 1946. Pp. xxxii, 183. Short Notices of this work and of the Saint's further volume on "The Kingdom of Jesus," may be found in *THE MONTH* for September-October, 1946, (p. 293.)

<sup>2</sup> *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. I (1909), p. 480.

Something more, however, even than the "great zeal" of the Fathers doubtless tended to obscure the devotion to the Sacred Heart peculiar to St. John Eudes. Dr. Phelan writes thus : "Nor was the character of the devotion, which St. John Eudes had preached, altered by the revelations made to this saintly nun" (*i.e.*, St. Margaret Mary : pp. xxi-xxii). And again : "The contrasts which have at times been drawn between the devotion to the Sacred Heart as preached by St. John Eudes and as revealed to St. Margaret Mary Alacoque are being progressively revealed as historically and theologically indefensible" (p. xxx). If this be granted, his conclusion must also be allowed : "Many learned writers would have saved themselves much labour in developing the theory of the devotion to the Sacred Heart, and not a few historians of the devotion would have been spared undue mistakes, had they given more careful attention to this work" (p. xxv). On the other hand, to one familiar with the devotion to the Sacred Heart as practised in the tradition of the Society of Jesus, going back to St. Margaret Mary, to read this new translation of St. John Eudes' work is in part a journey through unfamiliar country. There is much that is devotional and winning, much that must belong to any kind of devotion to the Sacred Heart and that occasions no surprise ; but there is also a good deal that is strange and even puzzling.

The devotion as revealed to St. Margaret Mary is something simple and straightforward, making an immediate appeal. "Behold this Heart which has so loved men." The heart is a natural symbol of love : the wounded Heart of Jesus tells of love neglected : reparation is naturally suggested, especially reparation for neglect shown to the Sacrament of Love : the Sacred Heart of flesh inevitably suggests primarily the human love of Jesus, but inevitably also in a secondary manner the love of the Divine Person. There is no need to dwell on these points, since they are so familiar to Catholics to-day. For a scientific handling of the whole matter Père Bainvel's work, *Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (English translation, Burns and Oates) still remains the standard work, and to it the reader may be referred who desires full and reliable guidance.

Is it "historically and theologically indefensible" to find "contrasts" between this devotion and what we find in the work before us ? Let us take the sixth meditation (pp. 126-9) upon "The Three Hearts of Jesus which are but one Heart." The three Hearts are well explained by Dr. Phelan on p. xxvii : they are the divine Heart of Jesus, His spiritual Heart, and His corporeal Heart : and "these three Hearts are but one absolutely single Heart." (1) The *divine* Heart is "the essential love of God, common to all Three Divine Persons of the Most Holy Trinity : the *notional* love of God, the reciprocal love of God the Father and God the Son from which the Holy Ghost proceeds : the *personal* love of God which is the Divine Person of the Holy Ghost Himself." The italics are Dr. Phelan's ; the word "notional" in

connexion with the Blessed Trinity is a strictly theological term, and must not be confused with "notional" in the sense (for example) of Newman's "notional assent." (2) The *spiritual* Heart is "the human love of Jesus proceeding from His human will and affecting concomitantly all the high powers of His soul." (3) The *corporeal* Heart is "the sensible, passionate, emotional love of Jesus, symbolized by the Heart of Flesh, the seat of the emotions, and which St. John Eudes also regarded as the organ of the passions." It is to be understood as "indicating the echo of love in the bodily organ which is its symbol and the seat of its emotional warmth."

Since Dr. Phelan tells us that the devotion to the Sacred Heart, as preached and taught by St. John Eudes, "is always controlled by strict theological reason," and since he speaks of the "full theological spirit which St. John Eudes first infused into the great synthesis of doctrine which he elaborated as the basis of the public worship of the Sacred Heart of Jesus" (p. xxx), it seems necessary to ask in what precise sense the corporeal Heart of Jesus (symbolizing His emotional love, *etc.*) can be "but one absolutely single Heart" with His Divine Heart, the Holy Ghost as proceeding from the Father and the Son, and the Father and the Son as breathing Him forth. Such an identification is far from being "controlled by strict theological reason," and can only be explained as (at the best) a pious inaccuracy due to a transport of poetical devotion. And is such language really desirable? One may venture, with all respect due to the saint, to ask this question, since Dr. Phelan himself confesses (p. xxvii) that "these expressions are no longer in use." When he adds that "they convey a doctrine which has not altered with the ages," one can only ask what precisely the doctrine is, for the devotion of "the three Hearts" began with St. John Eudes. This must not, of course, be understood as an accusation of unorthodoxy, which is not in the least intended, but only as an objection to an unfortunate formulation of doctrines which the saint held in orthodox substance. And it cannot be said to be "historically and theologically indefensible" to find a "contrast" between this doctrine of the three Hearts, absolutely one, and the devotion revealed to St. Margaret Mary, which is as theologically exact as it is simple. It is no service to St. John Eudes to claim that he "provides as profound and exact a study of the theology of the Sacred Heart as has ever been produced" (p. xxv); it only forces into dissent those who would rather be joining in a chorus of veneration.

St. John Eudes, indeed, carries his identifications very far, and it is this fact that presents the chief difficulty in his writings. It may be said with much truth, not only with regard to the three Hearts of Jesus (which are one), but also of some other of his identifications, that they are "no longer in use," but on the contrary that they provide a further "contrast" with St. Margaret Mary's presentation of the devotion. Thus in St. John Eudes' Litany of the Sacred Heart we have

the "Heart of Jesus" invoked as "Heart of the Eternal Father," "Origin (*Origo*, translated *Principle*) of the Holy Ghost," "Heart of the Virgin Mother" (pp. 169-170). And on p. 146 one of the hymns begins, "Jesus, single Heart of the Father's Breast, and of the Virgin," softened in the translation to "O Heart of Jesus, solely one, Of Father and of Virgin born." It will be noticed that in the Latin we have not merely the Heart of Jesus, but Jesus Himself, called the Heart of the Father, and the Heart of Our Lady.

Here and elsewhere, in fact, one remarks a certain tendency in the English translation to tone down expressions that may cause difficulty. This may give a wrong idea of the Latin original to those who cannot read Latin, and leaves us uncertain how far the adaptation has gone. Thus, on p. 267 of Père Bainvel's work, already referred to, the title of the first chapter of what is evidently the same book as that before us is said to be, "That the divine Heart of Jesus is the crown of the glory of the most holy Heart of Mary"; but this title and chapter do not appear in the English book before us. Again, in the offertory of St. John Eudes' Mass of the Sacred Heart (p. 143), the Latin runs: "May the Lord be mindful of all thy sacrifice, most loving Jesus; and may thy burnt-offering be made fat: may he give Thee according to thy Heart, and confirm all thy counsel." This is a strange wish to address to Our Lord, who says to His Eternal Father in John, xi.42, "I know that thou dost always hear me." Accordingly the words, "most loving Jesus," are omitted in the English translation, and "sacrifice" and "counsel" are put into the plural, the whole sense being thus entirely changed. Much the same has been done on p. 149. Such adaptations may well seem desirable; but it also seems desirable to give the reader notice that they are being made.

It has already appeared, in extracts taken from pp. 146 and 169-170 of the book, that Our Blessed Lady is drawn into these identifications. Some further examples may here be given. On p. 110 we read: "Thus the Sacred Heart of Jesus is the Heart of Mary. These two Hearts are but one Heart, which was given to us by the Blessed Trinity and by our Blessed Mother, so that we, the children of Jesus and Mary, might have but one Heart with our Heavenly Father and our holy Mother." There follows the ejaculation, "O Heart of Jesus and Mary, my most loving Heart!" And on p. 147 the antiphon to the *Magnificat* in St. John Eudes' office of the Sacred Heart runs: "Rejoice, Mary, Mother of the Redeemer: behold, thou hast wounded and ravished His Heart, and it has become thy Heart, and thou hast given it to us, that we may have one heart with the Father and Mother." On p. 149 we read in the hymn: "The Son gives His Heart to Mary, Mary gives her Heart to the Son." (The second *Mariae* is obviously a misprint for *Maria*.) Again, on p. 166 Jesus is said to have given His Heart to Mary. Hence the expression, "Heart of Jesus and Mary," on p. 165, where the translation gives the plural, "Hearts," against the



real sense of the Latin, in accordance with which, in the litany on p. 170, we have the invocation, already mentioned, "Heart of Jesus, Heart of the Virgin Mother."

On p. 173, immediately after the invocation, "Hail, most loving Heart (in the singular) of Jesus and Mary," come the words, "we adore thee." We are indeed told, apparently in the translated words of St. John Eudes himself, that "we must not be surprised," and a distinction is drawn between the adoration due to the Sacred Heart of Jesus and to the Holy Heart of Mary; nevertheless we cannot altogether repress our surprise, nor apparently could the translator, for he has softened down the "we adore thee" of the Latin to "we revere thee." On p. 175 it is said that "Jesus and Mary have given me their very great Heart," where it is clear from the passages here quoted and from others that only one single Heart is meant.

Man himself is involved in this identity. On p. 164, in an antiphon adapted from St. John's gospel (John xvii.24), Christ is made to pray to the Father that "those whom Thou hast given me . . . may be one heart with us and among themselves, as we also are one." The translation says merely, "may be one," omitting "heart." In the prayer on p. 172 we find, "O God, who hast wished us to have one heart with our Head and Father." The translation here renders strangely, "hast given us one Heart with Thy Head and our Father." The "Head" in any case is Christ.

In the light of all that has been written, and especially in view of these identifications of the three Hearts of Jesus, and of His Heart with that of God the Father and of the Blessed Virgin and of our own, identifications which, speaking generally, are no longer in use, and are in sharp "contrast" to the devotion founded by Our Lord in His revelations to St. Margaret Mary: in view of all this, it is surely lawful to believe that it was a mercy of the Lord to put the devotion into an easier and more appealing shape. And not only the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, but also that to the Immaculate Heart of Mary, as it has now come to be called. None the less St. John Eudes' more especial work may be found historically to have been the founding of the devotion to the Heart of Mary. But to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, no less than to the Heart of Mary, he had such an immense devotion, that in concluding a treatment of the subject that is not directly concerned with this immediately devotional aspect, we cannot but pray that St. John Eudes' example and intercession may help to kindle in the hearts of all a fervour ever more resembling his own.

CUTHBERT LATTEY.

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# TROJAN HORSE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

## THE REPORT OF THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON RUSSIAN SPYING IN CANADA<sup>1</sup>

IT was Igor Gouzenko who first revealed to the Canadian authorities the existence in Canada of a widespread espionage network, controlled by Russians and worked from the Soviet Embassy. Gouzenko had been sent to Canada in June, 1943, with the official title of "civilian employee" of the Soviet Embassy at Ottawa. In effect, he was the cipher clerk on the staff of the Military Attaché, Colonel Zabotin. On the night of September 5th, 1945, he left the Embassy with a number of documents from his own office, including telegrams sent to and received from Moscow, which he had enciphered and deciphered, as well as other papers written either by Russian officials of the Embassy or by other persons living in Canada. Shortly afterwards, he handed these documents to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, from whom he sought protection.

Gouzenko was born in Russia in 1919; held the rank of Lieutenant in the Soviet Army; had been trained in coding and decoding in a secret school, after having been investigated by the N.K.V.D., the official secret police of Russia. Only after five months of such investigation was he given access to secret cipher work. Subsequently, he was transferred to the Main Intelligence Division of the Red Army in Moscow, where he spent one year. In the course of that year, he saw a large number of telegrams to and from many countries, dealing with operations in espionage, similar to those he was able to disclose with regard to Canada.

On leaving Russia, Gouzenko understood that he was to remain abroad for two or three years; his wife and child were with him. In September, 1944, a telegram came from Moscow for his recall but, at

<sup>1</sup> *The Report of the Royal Commission*, appointed under Order in Council P. C. 411 of February 5th, 1946, "to investigate the facts relating to and the circumstances surrounding the communication by public officials and other persons in positions of trust of secret and confidential information to agents of a foreign power." The report was signed on June 27th, 1946, by Mr. Justice Robert Taschereau and Mr. Justice R. L. Kellock, who had carried out the investigation with the assistance of Messrs. E. E. Williams, K.C., and Gerald Fauteux, K.C., and Messrs. D. W. Mundell, W. K. Campbell and J. H. Pepper.

The report was published in Ottawa by Edmond Cloutier, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty Controller of Stationery and sold for one Canadian dollar. It is most detailed and exhaustive, running to 733 pages. A few copies have been made available in Britain, at seven shillings, through H.M. Stationery Office, but, despite requests and suggestions, the report has not been printed and published here. Apart from references in the *Tablet* and *Time and Tide*, and a full-length article in the *Nineteenth Century*, scant attention has been paid to this highly important document by the British Press. *La Civiltà Cattolica*, for February 1st, 1947, devoted twelve pages to its study, under the title of *Sulle Orme di una Impresa di spionaggio nel Canada*.

the request of his Superior, Colonel Zabotin, he was permitted to remain. In August, 1945, came further instructions, stating definitely that he must be sent back, with wife and child. Meanwhile, Gouzenko was debating whether he should or should not return. He was impressed—see his formal declaration, made on October 10th, 1945<sup>1</sup>—by the complete freedom of the individual which he found in Canada ; this was wholly foreign to his experience in Russia and equally foreign to the information he had received in Russia about life in democratic countries. He was struck by the standard of living in Canada and the freedom to purchase what one wished—again totally at variance with the picture which Russian propaganda painted. Particularly had he been impressed by the difference between elections in Canada and in the Soviet Union. He was disgusted by the fact that, while the Canadian people had been sending supplies to Russia, members of the Russian Embassy were actively engaged in spying against the Canadian interest. His formal statement contained the following paragraphs :

Holding forth at international conferences with voluble statements about peace and security, the Soviet Government is simultaneously preparing secretly for the third world war. To meet this war, the Soviet Government is creating in democratic countries, including Canada, *a fifth column*,<sup>2</sup> in the organization of which even diplomatic representatives of the Soviet Government take part.

The announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern was, probably, the greatest farce of the Communists in recent years. Only the name was liquidated, with the object of reassuring public opinion in the democratic countries. Actually the Comintern exists and continues its work, because the Soviet leaders have never relinquished the idea of establishing a Communist dictatorship throughout the world.

To many Soviet people here abroad, *it is clear that the Communist Party in democratic countries has changed long ago from a political party into an agency net of the Soviet Government, into a fifth column in these countries to meet a war, into an instrument in the hands of the Soviet Government for creating artificial unrest, provocation, etc., etc.*<sup>3</sup>

On the night of September 5th, 1945, Gouzenko left the Soviet Embassy with his papers. The time was 8 p.m. He went to the offices of a daily newspaper, asking them to publish his decision and the reasons behind it. Meeting with no response, he returned to his apartment at 511 Somerset Street, Ottawa and passed the night there. The next morning, he left the apartment with his wife and child, and did not return till 7 p.m. During the day, he made various telephone calls, to official quarters and the Press, but no one was yet ready to take him seriously. That evening, he had not been long in his apartment, which is No. 4, when he noticed two men standing on the opposite side of the street. They seemed to be keeping the house under observa-

<sup>1</sup> Given in full in the Report. Section X. Pp. 638-41.

<sup>2</sup> Words underlined in the original statement.

<sup>3</sup> Words underlined by those responsible for the Report.

tion. Shortly afterwards, there was a knock at his door ; his name was called. He did not answer, but his presence was disclosed by the noise of the child running across the room. He stated that he recognized the voice of the person at the door as that of Under-Lieutenant Lavrentiev, one of the drivers for the Military Attaché.

Thereupon Gouzenko went through the back door to the adjoining apartment, No. 5, occupied by a Non-Commissioned Officer of the R.C.A.F. (Royal Canadian Air Force), and asked if this officer and his wife would keep Gouzenko's child for him overnight. He then observed a man walking along a lane at the back of the apartment house. He became so apprehensive that he begged the N.C.O. to permit himself and his wife, as well as the child, to take shelter with him that night. At this moment appeared the wife of the tenant of apartment No. 6. On hearing their story, she agreed to take the whole Gouzenko family into her apartment, as she was alone. On his own initiative, the N.C.O. set out on his bicycle to seek police protection for Gouzenko.

Shortly afterwards, two Canadian policemen arrived and interviewed Gouzenko. He was told that they would keep the building under surveillance and that, if their assistance were required, the light in the bathroom of apartment No. 6 was to be extinguished ; in the meantime, it was to be kept burning.

Between 11.30 and midnight, four men arrived in the building and proceeded to Gouzenko's apartment, No. 4. They hammered on the door. The N.C.O. in No. 5 looked out into the corridor. They enquired whether he knew where was Gouzenko and were told, No. They continued knocking but, receiving no reply, went downstairs, as though to leave the building. Actually, they crept back quietly, broke in the door and began to search the apartment.

Meanwhile, the two policemen appeared on the scene. They entered, discovered the lights on, and four men ransacking the apartment. One of these, who turned out to be Vitali Pavlov, the Second Secretary and Consul of the Soviet Embassy, was in a clothes cupboard.<sup>1</sup> Another, in uniform, identified as Lieut-Colonel Rogov, the Assistant Military Attaché, was in a cupboard just off the room into which the policemen had come.

One of the two constables, Walsh, asked them what they were doing. Pavlov answered that they were Russians and were looking through papers that belonged to the Soviet Embassy ; that the owner of the apartment had gone to Toronto, but they had his permission to enter his rooms and take what they wanted. Walsh remarked that it was curious, if this was the case, that they should have needed to break the

<sup>1</sup> Pavlov was declared by Gouzenko to be the head of the espionage network in Canada, that was controlled by the N.K.V.D. or Russian secret police. Of this network of espionage, the Report states : "There can be little doubt that the N.K.V.D., previously called the O.G.P.U., and which is the secret political police of the Soviet Union, have a powerful organization in Canada." (p. 21).



lock. Pavlov attempted bluff. He insisted that the apartment was Russian property, and that they could do whatever they pleased. Walsh demanded their identification papers, which showed that they were : Vitali G. Pavlov, Second Secretary of the Embassy, Lieut-Colonel Rogov, Assistant Military Attaché, Lieut. Angelov, of the Military Attaché's staff, and Alexandre Farafontov. A police inspector arrived opportunely. He requested the Russians to remain, while he made certain enquiries. But they had disappeared, when he returned.

On September 8th, the Soviet Embassy sent a note to the Canadian authorities, claiming that Gouzenko had absconded with Embassy funds and demanding that he be arrested and handed over to the Russians. It protested at the same time at what it termed the rude behaviour of the Canadian policemen. The Canadian authorities asked for details of the money alleged to have been stolen. No answer was forthcoming. The comment of the Report is : " We think these circumstances dispose of the theft suggestion. We may add that the evidence of the witnesses we have heard respecting the happenings of the 6th and 7th of September, fully corroborates that of Gouzenko."

\* \* \*

During the autumn and winter of 1946 the documents handed over by Gouzenko were very carefully studied. A Royal Commission was set up under an Order in Council to report upon facts that had come to light and upon their consequences for the security of Canada.

The Report is a lengthy document. It has a verbatim account of all the evidence submitted to it, and there is a separate examination of the 20 or so Canadian subjects involved. Despite its blue book format, it is most interesting, at times quite thrilling. After a short introduction, the Commission discusses " The General Pattern," a most illuminating exposé of Russian spying in Canada and an acute psychological study both of the Communist leaders and of their agents. A third section deals with the individual Canadians implicated, as does the fourth. The fifth, with the special case of forged passports ; the sixth, with Germina Rabinowitch, an agent in a particular class. Further chapters evaluate the information and material handed over ; consider the authenticity and accuracy of this material ; and speak of the arrangements made by the Canadian Department of National Defence for supplying information officially to the Soviet Embassy.

The Commission begins by stating its conviction that there had been organized and widespread espionage in Canada, in the interests of Russia :

There can be no doubt in our minds that these attempts, very often successful, to obtain here secret and confidential information cannot be qualified as casual or isolated. They are not merely the acts of over-zealous Soviet employees anxious to inform their own Government. The set-up of this organization in Canada is the result of a

long preparation by trained and experienced men, who have come here for the express purpose of carrying on spying activities, and who have employed all the resources at their disposal, with or without corruption, to fulfil the tasks assigned to them.<sup>1</sup>

The centre for this work was the Russian Embassy, No. 285 Charlotte Street, Ottawa. Gouzenko worked in room 12 on the second floor of the Embassy—one of eight rooms in one wing of the building, the entrance to which was guarded by a double steel door, while the windows had iron bars and steel shutters that were closed at night. In this room is a steel safe containing many of the important documents of Military Intelligence. The cipher books used by Gouzenko to encipher and decipher telegrams, were kept in a sealed bag which was handed every night to one Aleksashkin, and in the same bag were placed the telegrams that had come from or been despatched to Moscow. In the safe were preserved the agents' records, Colonel Zabotin's secret diary,<sup>2</sup> and other Military Intelligence papers.

In this secret wing were located cipher clerks of five departments: the Embassy proper, the N.K.V.D., the Political Section, the Commercial Section, and Military Intelligence. These clerks acted independently, and each had a different cipher, unknown to the others. Each of these sections communicated directly with a different centre in Moscow: the Embassy with the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs; N.K.V.D. with the headquarters of the secret police; the Political Section with the Central Committee of the Communist Party; the Commercial Section with the Commissariat for Foreign Trade; Military Intelligence with the Director of Military Intelligence.

The extreme secrecy with which Russian espionage was clothed at the Embassy was also exercised, and with great care, by the Russians in their relations with their agents, and by the agents themselves in their mutual contacts. "After reading, burn," were standing instructions on written assignments of "tasks" given by Colonel Zabotin and his associates to these agents. The agents met at night on street corners and in automobiles; they used "cover-names." Practically all the agents who have been discovered working for Russian Military Intelligence had such cover-names and used them regularly. Sam Carr, for instance, Organizing Secretary of the Communist Party in Canada since 1937, was known as "Sam" or "Fred"; Fred Rose, elected member of Parliament in 1943, as "Fred" or "Debouz"; Dr. Raymond Boyer, a member of the staff of McGill University and a senior worker with the National Research Council, as "The Professor"; Israel Halperin, professor of mathematics in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, as "Bacon";

<sup>1</sup> P. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Zabotin was Military Attaché. He was also head of the espionage system, the activities of which were brought to light through the disclosure of Gouzenko. He came to Canada in June, 1943, and took over this espionage network from Sergei Koudriavzev, First Secretary at the Embassy.

Allan Nunn May as "Alek." Canada was sometimes referred to as "Lesovia"; the Soviet Embassy as "Metro"; the N.K.V.D. as "The Neighbour," and Communist parties generally as "corporations." Communists were "corporants" or "corporators"; passports were "shoes," and any hiding place was a "dubok."

The Commission exonerated the Soviet Ambassador as having no part in these espionage activities which were organized, however, from the Embassy. But it commented in effect upon the curious status which a Russian Ambassador appears to enjoy, in that certain portions of the Embassy are entirely outside his control. It noted the testimony of Gouzenko that the Ambassador had no right of access to the secret rooms in the special wing on the second floor of the Embassy; nor might he examine the telegrams, sent to and received from Moscow by Zabotin, Pavlov and Goussarov, the heads of the military espionage, the N.K.V.D. and Political sections respectively. Nearly twenty members of the Embassy staff have been proved to have engaged in spying, including the First and Second Secretaries, the Military Attaché and two Assistant Military Attachés, and the Commercial Counsellor.

Through the documents provided by Gouzenko the Commission has been able to trace the activities of one Russian spy network in Canada. That it has done, and very fully. Yet it records its view that there were and are other spy networks, including a parallel system for Military Intelligence, a system controlled by the N.K.V.D., a "political" and a Naval Intelligence system. The existence of the N.K.V.D. system was made plain from the Gouzenko telegrams:

While Gouzenko's evidence and the documents establish the existence of the N.K.V.D. organization in Canada, we have been unable to ascertain the extent of its infiltration and the identity of its Canadian or other agents. We have, however, sufficient evidence to show that the N.K.V.D. system is parallel to, but entirely independent of and quite distinct from the military espionage network.<sup>1</sup>

The "political" system, subordinated to the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow, would pass on political directives to Canadian Communists, as to Communists elsewhere. "At first sight," reports the Commission,

We would find it difficult to credit that the leaders of any Canadian political party would take instructions, regarding the political activities which they directed, from agents of any foreign power. However, it would be still more difficult for us to believe that men such as Sam Carr and Fred Rose, who have been shown to have acted for many years as key members of an espionage network headed by agents of a foreign power and directed against Canada, would not also be prepared to accept, from agents of that same power, political instructions re-

garding the organization which they directed. We would be less than frank, therefore, if we did not report this opinion."<sup>1</sup>

The attitude of members of the Embassy staff towards fully-fledged members of the Canadian Communist Party is well summed up in the Russian word "Nash," occasionally written against such persons' names in Zabotin's notebook. "Nash," literally translated, means "Ours" or "He is Ours."

Gouzenko made it clear that the dissolution of the Comintern was a "farce"; the name was given up but the reality continued as before. Documents handed over by Gouzenko confirm his statement. On the Registration Card on Sam Carr, kept in the Embassy, occurs the sentence: "Detailed biographical information is available in the centre in the Comintern" (*the entry was made by Lieut-Colonel Rogov in 1945*). "The Communist International, the Comintern," Gouzenko declared, "is the staff headquarters which directs the activities of the Communist parties all over the world."<sup>2</sup> And, in reply to a further question, he added: "On every Communist there is a file at the Comintern in Moscow."<sup>3</sup>

At this point something must be said of the links discovered between this Communist network in Canada and similar groups in other countries. That such links do exist is sufficiently obvious. However, some evidence of their existence comes from these documents.

The case of Allan Nunn May is typical. Dr. May formed part of a British research group which went to Canada in July, 1944, under the leadership of Dr. Cockcroft, who had been made director of the Atomic Energy Project in Canada. Dr. May was already an ardent but secret Communist and was well known to the authorities in Moscow. Soon after his arrival in Canada, he was approached by agents of Zabotin and given the cover-name of "Alek" in the organization. He secured and handed over secret information about the atomic bomb and electronic shells.<sup>4</sup> He procured specimens of uranium 233 and 235 which also were handed over to the Russians. In February, 1946, after his return from Canada, Dr. May was arrested in London; he confessed his guilt and was sentenced to ten years' penal servitude.

Other telegrams of July and August, 1945, treat of a meeting between Dr. May, returning from Canada, and a Communist agent in London. As this meeting was arranged for this country, its details, as given in a telegram from Moscow, should be of live interest.

<sup>1</sup> P. 29.

<sup>2</sup> P. 37.

<sup>3</sup> P. 38.

<sup>4</sup> The telegrams sent by Zabotin (under the cover-name of "Grant") to Moscow and the instructions received from the Director of Military Intelligence in Moscow are given in full on pages 450 to 454 of the Report.



11953

22. 8. 45

To GRANT (*cover-name for Zabolin*)

Reference No. 244.

The arrangements worked out for the meeting are not satisfactory. I am informing you of new ones.

## 1. Place :

In front of the British Museum in London, on Great Russell Street, at the opposite side of the street, about Museum Street, from the side of Tottenham Court Road repeat Tottenham Court Road, Alek (*cover-name for Dr. May*) walks from Tottenham Court Road, the contact man from the opposite side—Southampton Row.

## 2. Time :

As indicated by you, however, it would be more expedient to carry out the meeting at 20 o'clock, if it should be convenient to Alek, as at 23 o'clock it is too dark. As for the time, agree about it with Alek and communicate the decision to me. In case the meeting should not take place in October, the time and day will be repeated in the following months.

## 3. Identification Signs :

Alek will have under his left arm the newspaper "Times," the contact man will have in his left hand the magazine "Picture Post."

## 4. The Password :

The contact man : "What is the shortest way to the Strand?"

Alek : "Well, come along. I am going that way."

In the beginning of the business conversation says : "Best regards from Mikel."

Report on transmitting the conditions to Alek

DIRECTOR (12)<sup>1</sup>

Further evidence of liaison between this Communist network and Communist agents in Britain was discovered in a hand-written copy of a telegram, addressed to Moscow about a meeting in London between Samuel Sol Burman or Berman, one of the Canadian spies, and a London agent. The meeting was arranged for 3 p.m. on a Sunday, in front of Canada House in Trafalgar Square. "Berman will be in civilian clothes—brown suit (tweed) checkered, without a hat, with a newspaper in his right hand. Password : 'How's Elsie?' Berman will reply : 'She's fine.' Thereupon our man will hand over to him a letter signed 'Frank.'"<sup>2</sup>

Further documents, the Commission states, deal in considerable detail with relations between the Canadian organizations of Zabolin and Pavlov and secret agents operating on the Continent of Europe. Among other things, they show that on one occasion in 1944, ten thousand dollars were transferred, with the assistance of a secret agent in Canada, and through a commercial firm in New York, to this Continental network, on the instructions of Zabolin.

In this context, a word must be said about the forged passport,

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 32-3.<sup>2</sup> Pp. 34-5.

a question to which the Commission devotes one special chapter of its report. In 1930, a Pole, named Ignacy Witczak, came to Canada for work as a farm labourer. In May, 1935, he applied to be naturalised and was given a certificate of naturalization in March, 1936. In February, 1937, he enlisted in the MacKenzie-Popineau battalion of the International Brigade and proceeded to Spain to fight in the civil war. At the military base of Albicante, his passport was taken from him, on the grounds that it might be lost or destroyed in the front line. When he later applied for it, he was informed that the train in which these passports were stored had been bombed, and that his passport was lost. This genuine Witczak returned to Canada and applied, not for a new passport, but for a fresh certificate of naturalization.

Meanwhile, a Communist agent had entered the United States on Witczak's passport. Later, a woman applied to join him, on the ground that he was her husband (the original Witczak was and still is unmarried). Came the time when the passport must be renewed. Telegrams to and from Moscow deal with this matter. Apparently, it was important for the Russian authorities to retain these two agents in the United States, under the cover of this false Canadian passport. Through bribery and corruption (the price paid was three thousand dollars) this was done, but, on examination, the forgery was detected. The intermediary was Sam Carr, and the details of Task No. 3, which he was set on August 1st, 1945, show the intention of the Moscow authorities of bringing about the infiltration, not of one but of many secret agents, under forged passports. Carr is to report on the "requirements which a person, living as an 'illegal' must meet," on ways of legalisation, through joining a business firm or finding employment, on "more expedient methods to slip into the country," and on "conditions of entry into the country and of moving about in the country." The Commission notes: "The intent of this document is manifest without comment."<sup>1</sup>

Here it is relevant to quote—and the Commission actually does quote—from a book, *In Stalin's Secret Service*, published in 1939 by W. G. Krivitsky, former Chief of the Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe. Krivitsky emphasized the high value placed by the Soviet authorities upon Canadian and U.S. passports and their use by Russian agents in foreign countries. On page 95, Krivitsky indicates that what happened in the Witczak case was a well settled practice. He says :

All the volunteers' passports were taken up when they arrived in Spain, and very rarely was a passport returned. Even when a man was discharged, he was told that his passport had been lost. From the United States alone about 2,000 volunteers came over, and genuine American passports are highly prized at O.G.P.U. headquarters in

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 553-4.

Moscow. Nearly every diplomatic pouch from Spain that arrived at the Lubyanka contained a batch of passports from members of the International Brigade.

Several times while I was in Moscow in the spring of 1937, I saw this mail in the offices of the Foreign Division of the O.G.P.U. One day a batch of about a hundred passports arrived; half of them were American. They had belonged to dead soldiers. That was a great haul, a cause for celebration. The passports of the dead, after some weeks of enquiry into the family histories of their original owners, are easily adapted to their new bearers, the O.G.P.U. agents.

On pages 56 and 57 of this book, the author refers to a conversation between himself and a Soviet official, named Piatnitsky, as follows :

I am reminded in this connection of a conversation I had with Piatnitsky. He had a man working for him named Lobonovsky, whose incompetence was always the subject of anecdotes in our circle. I would often run into Lobonovsky in one of the capitals of Europe as he scurried about on seemingly important missions. Later I had occasion to discuss him with Piatnitsky. "Tell me frankly, Comrade Piatnitsky," I said, "why do you keep that idiot on your staff?" The veteran Bolshevik leader smiled tolerantly and replied: "My dear young Walter, the question here is not Lobonovsky's capability. What is important is that he has a Canadian passport and I need a Canadian for the missions on which I send him. No one else will do." "Canadian!" I exclaimed, "Lobonovsky isn't a Canadian. He's a Ukrainian born in Shepetovka." Piatnitsky bellowed: "What do you mean, a Ukrainian born in Shepetovka? He has a Canadian passport. That's good enough for me. Do you think it's so easy to find a real Canadian? We've got to make the best of a Canadian born in Shepetovka!"

\* \* \*

The Report includes a valuable study of the methods by which agents were recruited and trained and of the motives which led them to undertake this work of espionage. The main recruiting base was the Canadian Communist Party. "In every instance but one, Zabolin's Canadian espionage agents were shown to be members of or sympathisers with the Communist Party."<sup>1</sup> There were study-groups in Montreal, Toronto and Ottawa, where Communist ideology was the central subject for reading and discussion. Frequently the character of these groups was disguised. But in effect, they were Communist cells, calculated to develop the necessary frame of mind. From time to time the groups were visited by high party officials who reported on candidates and proposed them as agents to Zabolin. Even psychological reports were made.

The Commission notes the ease with which such agents were recruited. It referred to three scientists, Durnford Smith, Mazerall and Halperin, two of whom were members of a Communist cell, composed of scientific workers on the National Research Council.

<sup>1</sup> P. 44.

Their contact man with the Embassy was David Lunan. There is no evidence that they contemplated espionage prior to March, 1945. Yet their services were enlisted within a very short period.

Other methods of enlistment were social contact (this of doubtful value) and work among Ukrainians and Poles in Canada, on whom pressure was sometimes put through threats of reprisals against their relatives in Eastern Poland or the Ukraine. It must be added that Jews figured prominently in this spy activity. The two principal Canadian agents, who had been active Russian spies for many years, Sam Carr and Fred Rose, were Jews. Their names were originally Schmil Kogan and Fred Rosenberg. Other Jews were Israel Halperin, Eric Adams, David Shugar, Samuel Sol Burman and H. S. Gerson.

Among the most serious paragraphs of the Report are the following :

Perhaps the most startling single aspect of the entire Fifth Column network is the uncanny success with which the Soviet agents were able to find Canadians who were willing to betray their country and to supply to agents of a foreign power secret information to which they had access in the course of their work, despite oaths of allegiance, of office, and of secrecy which they had taken.

Many of the Canadian public servants implicated in this espionage network were persons with an unusually high degree of education, and many were well regarded by those who worked with them in agencies and departments of the public service, as persons of marked ability and intelligence.<sup>1</sup>

Among them, for example, were Dr. Boyer, a member of the staff of McGill University ; Adams, Durnford Smith, Mazerall, Nightingale and Shugar, all graduates of McGill ; Halperin, professor of mathematics in Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario ; David Lunan, editor of *Canadian Affairs* ; Agatha Chapman, in the research division of the Bank of Canada ; Kathleen Mary Wilsher, educated at the London School of Economics, and holding a confidential position in the Office of the High Commissioner of the United Kingdom in Ottawa.

There is no evidence that money played any important part in the *original* motivation of these persons, though from time to time money was paid out. Entries refer to payments of five hundred dollars to Dr. May on one occasion and to the gift of two hundred dollars and two bottles of whisky on another. The dossier on Sam Carr, preserved in Zabotin's safe, contains the entry : "Financial Conditions. Financially secure but takes money. It is necessary occasionally to help."

On the important matter of motivation, the Commission has this to say : "We are analysing with some care the question of motivation, and the highly organized methods employed to develop *an appropriate moral and mental state* among potential Canadian recruits before they are informed of what has been planned for them."<sup>2</sup> It was the

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 57-8. <sup>2</sup> P. 69.



general policy of the Communists to discourage certain selected sympathisers from joining the Communist Party. Instead, they joined study-groups and kept their membership hidden. These sympathisers were found among students, scientific workers, teachers, office and business personnel, civil servants—in short, among middle class technical and administrative workers. The purpose behind this—so runs the judgment of the Report—was, in the first place, to get Communist control of various societies through the election of their secret members to committees, e.g., of Trade Unions, of professional associations, of youth movements and “civil liberties unions.” Also, these crypto-Communists could take the lead in organizing broad so-called “non-political” organizations. One example of these is furnished by the Canadian Association of Scientific Workers. Dr. Boyer became its National President, and other Soviet agents, dealt with in the Report, have held positions on its executive committees. A second purpose was to accustom young Canadians to an atmosphere of secrecy and to an ethic of conspiracy. Thus was developed a technique of a *double life* and of *double standards*. The Report stated :

To judge from much of the evidence, the secret adherent is apparently encouraged never to be honest or frank, outside the secret ‘cell’ meetings, about his political attitude or views, and apparently is led to believe that frankness in these matters is the equivalent of dangerous indiscretion and a potential menace to the organization as a whole.<sup>1</sup>

David Lunan’s report, written to Lieut-Colonel Rogov and dated March 28th, 1945, referring to the cell, to which Durnford Smith, Mazerall and Halperin belonged, stressed this desire for secrecy :

They already feel the need for maintaining a very high degree of security and taking abnormal precautions at their normal meetings, since they are definitely not labelled with any political affiliations. One or two have even opposed the introduction of new members in our group on the grounds that it would endanger their own security.<sup>2</sup>

As regards the subjects of these study-groups, they arose out of political and philosophical works, carefully selected to develop in the group members “an essentially critical attitude towards Western democracy.” There were in addition discussions on current affairs, designed to accentuate this critical point of view. The curriculum was framed, the Commission insists, not to further social reform but to weaken the loyalty of the group member towards his or her society as such. Linked with this was an organized indoctrination to bring about an essentially uncritical acceptance of Russian propaganda at its face value. The result of these study courses was a *divided loyalty*, in some cases the *transference of loyalty from home to abroad*, abroad meaning Soviet Russia.

<sup>1</sup> P. 71.   <sup>2</sup> P. 71.

Indeed—goes on the Report—a sense of internationalism seems in many cases to play a definite rôle in one stage of the courses. In these cases the Canadian sympathiser is first encouraged to develop a sense of loyalty, not directly to a foreign state, but to what he conceives to be an international ideal. This subjective internationalism is then usually linked almost inextricably through the indoctrination courses and the intensive exposure to the propaganda of a particular foreign state, with the current conception of that foreign state and with the current doctrines and policies of Communist parties throughout the world.<sup>1</sup>

Another objective is to make members absolutely obedient to higher officials of the Communist Party. This is accomplished by a great insistence upon organization as such and by the gradual creation, in the mind of the adherent, of an overriding moral sense of "loyalty to the Party." This loyalty to the Party in due course takes the place of the earlier attachment to certain ideas and principles, put forward by the Party propaganda. This indoctrination makes the group member accept the view "that loyalty and obedience to the leadership of this organization takes precedence over his loyalty to Canada, entitles him to disregard his oaths of allegiance and secrecy, and thus destroys his integrity as a citizen."<sup>2</sup>

It is significant—the Report continues—that not a single one of the several Canadians, members or adherents of the Communist Party, who were approached by senior members of that Party to engage in espionage on behalf of the Soviet Union, reported this approach to the Agencies, Departments or Armed Forces of Canada, in which they were employed.

Not one even of those who have described, in evidence before us, serious hesitation and struggles with their consciences which they underwent before they agreed to act as spies against Canada, ever suggested to us that they contemplated taking the one loyal or legal course of action—i.e., reporting the criminal request to the Canadian authorities.<sup>3</sup>

Among the original motives which came to light during the investigation were, for the intellectual type, the metaphysical ideas of Communism. Durnford Smith, when asked for his motive, stated simply, "the logic of it all." Others confessed they had been influenced by the need of a fight against anti-Semitism. Others referred to ideals of social reform. Russian propaganda was readily identified with the agitation for certain domestic improvements in Canada.

What were they after, these agents? As would be expected from their connection with Russian Military Intelligence, they sought and passed over information about the military forces of Canada, Canadian defences, and especially about Canadian research in atomic energy, Radar and anti-submarine devices, as well as new artillery fuses and shells. At the same time, they communicated any political information they could find.

How much did they in fact secure? That is a question which must

<sup>1</sup> P. 73. <sup>2</sup> P. 75. <sup>3</sup> P. 77.

naturally arise, and to its answer the Report devotes one section.<sup>1</sup> It comments, to begin with, upon the statement, made by M. Lozovski, the Soviet Deputy Commissar for Foreign Affairs, to the *Chargé d'Affaires* of the Canadian Embassy in Moscow on February 21st, 1946. Lozovski admitted—there was no alternative—that some members of the Russian Embassy in Canada had received, from Canadian subjects with whom they were acquainted, “certain information of a secret character,” which did not—he went on to say—“present great interest for the Soviet organizations.” Lozovski pretended that the information received was of little value “in view of more advanced technical attainment in the U.S.S.R.” and could be found in published works on radio location, etc., as in the American brochure on Atomic Energy :

It would, therefore, be ridiculous to affirm that delivery of insignificant secret data of this kind could create any threat to the security of Canada.

The impertinence of this answer quite apart, it is most certainly not the verdict reached by the Royal Commission. It cannot say, of course, exactly how much secret information was handed over, but it is convinced that the amount was considerable and of real value. It also notes that the smallest piece of such information would have its value, since agents were working on similar lines in the United States and Britain. Some of the knowledge handed over, it adds, is so secret still that it can be referred to only obliquely and with the greatest circumspection.

Entering into details, the Commission concluded that only Dr. May, of the Canadian agents working for Russian Military Intelligence, had access to secret information about the atomic bomb. He was in a position to get samples of uranium 235 enriched and uranium 233 ; he did obtain them and hand them to a Russian member of the Embassy. These samples were considered so valuable that, upon their receipt, Lieut-Colonel Motinov flew to Moscow with them. “How much of his information he handed over we are not able to say, but what he is known to have given, as shown by the documents and by his own written statement, we are told would be of considerable help to the Russians in their research work.”

With regard to Radar, the Commission found that “information of the greatest importance in this field was communicated to the Russians by their agents.” As for the anti-submarine devices, known as Asdic, they judged that “much, and very possibly all, of the information available in Canada on this subject has been compromised. It would at least be unwise to assume anything else.” On the subject of Canadian research in explosives and propellants, the conclusion of the Commission is once again positive. “The names of the formulae and much of the secret information were given to the Russians as well as

<sup>1</sup> Section VII. Pp. 615-620.

continuing information about trials, experiments and proposed future research. This information was of great value."

There are two more or less final paragraphs in the Report, which both sum up the position and point to the most serious danger latent and actual within it. They are the following :

In conclusion, therefore, we can say that much vital technical information, which should still be secret to the authorities of Canada, Great Britain and the United States, has been made known to the Russians by reason of the espionage activities reported on herein. The full extent of the information handed over is impossible to say ; as we have already pointed out, these operations have been going on for some time. We should emphasize that the bulk of the technical information sought by the espionage leaders related to research developments which would play an important part in the *post-war* defences of Canada, the United Kingdom, and the United States.<sup>1</sup>

The second paragraph is at the end of Section VII :

The other aspect of this whole matter should not be lost sight of. Of paramount importance is the fact that Canadians were willing to give secret information no matter what its importance, and were carrying out their agreements. Some gave all they had or all they could get ; others apparently gave only some of what was in their possession ; some had not much to give but were in positions where they would, in the future, have been able to give more and they would undoubtedly have done so. The most important thing is the agreement of certain Canadian Communists to work under foreign orders in a conspiracy directed against their own country.<sup>2</sup>

There is a word for this behaviour. It is " treason."

This Report, which we have examined, is a document of the greatest significance. It was drawn up for Canada. We cannot for a moment imagine that some similar report could not be drawn up for our own country and for many others. " It cannot happen here " is a well-known British attitude to disasters that occur elsewhere. There are sufficient cross-references in this Report to show that it not only could and can happen here, but has actually been happening. It is surprising, therefore, that the Report has not been published or publicized in Britain. It may be argued that its publication would worsen relations between Russia and Britain. But these mutual relations will never be bettered through ignorance of realities and wishful thinking. And this Report is the story of the consistent and successful efforts of Russian agents in Canada to worsen the relations between Russia and ourselves. The facts, revealed in this Report, must be known and faced before there can be serious hopes of improvement in Soviet-British relations. They have become known in the United States, and they are being faced there. Indeed, this Report is one of the important factors that have led to a strengthening of the foreign policy of the United States.

JOHN MURRAY.

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 618-9. The word " post-war " is italicized in the Report.

<sup>2</sup> P. 620.



# MISCELLANEA

## I. CRITICAL AND HISTORICAL NOTES

### THE ASSOCIATION FOR CATHOLIC PEOPLE'S COLLEGES

THE objects of the Association for Catholic People's Colleges are the following :

- (1) to study the possibilities of residential education for Catholic adults of all classes ;
- (2) by prayer, writing, personal contacts, public speaking and gifts or loans in money, to work for the foundation of a Catholic People's College.

This article will attempt to outline our ideal of a Catholic People's College and to give a short account of the activities of the Association to date.

The College we have in mind will be open to all Catholics of eighteen years and over. It will be a College for Catholic People. By "people" we mean, as does the Liturgy, the *populus Dei*, persons of all ages and walks of life, who are members of Christ's Church. Adult education is receiving increasing attention in England. Even were this not the case, there is every reason for Catholics to work for its establishment. Modern society is post-Christian and, as in any society at any period, its fundamental attitudes to human life, destiny and conduct, exert an all-powerful influence on the minds and wills of modern men, women and children, Catholics included. Whereas, for example, in mediæval times, Christian principles were so incarnate in institutions, that in spite of gross abuses, the common people were surrounded by Christian facts and educated by these very surroundings in a Christian attitude to life, now the all-pervading forces of secularism invade every province of the mind, passions and emotions. We Catholics can no longer place all our hopes in the blessed word "atmosphere." Our schools and homes may be and indeed are Christian communities. But they tend more and more and inevitably so, to resemble hot-houses. The plants may thrive within them, but they will wither in the cold winds of a secularist world unless the soil in which they have hitherto grown is a rich compost of Catholic doctrine. No amount of gentle steady heat in the greenhouse will make up for lack of body in the soil.

Many movements have arisen of late in the Church with the object of supplying to our Catholic people just that intensive and vital education in the principles of their faith which they so need in our times. We have to acquire consciously what maybe our forefathers acquired unconsciously. The conditions of our life make this approach imperative. We have with us societies such as the C.S.G., the C.E.G., the Sword of the Spirit, the Newman Association, the Y.C.W., to name only a few, all of which, in various ways, are tackling the problem of Catholic education for Catholic adults. Our own little Association finds itself in excellent company. It has a few suggestions of its own to make which it hopes may prove of some use.

We can sum up our approach in one sentence : " We wish to provide for adult Catholics an institution in which they can, for a short period, live together, pray together, worship together, study together, work together, so

that on returning to their parishes and homes, they may find themselves more willing and more able to live a full Catholic, Apostolic life in the surroundings in which their lot is cast." We consider that such a course should last for at least five months. We are well aware of the immense difficulties this involves. We may have to be content with far less, at least in the beginning. There is no need to enlarge upon the advantages of residential education. To live in community is an education in itself, making heavy calls upon the individual, teaching him to sacrifice his own wishes and foibles day in and day out. In such a community it is difficult to get away with fine phrases and lip-service to an ideal. Principles have to be lived there and then. The immense benefits the Tridentine seminary has conferred upon the secular clergy seem to indicate that training on analogous lines for the laity might well meet some of the needs of our time.

We have *not* in mind a College on secular lines with Religious Instruction as one subject among others. The life of our students, their intellectual and social life, must grow organically from the life of worship and prayer. The Liturgy, directed as it is, to the glory of God, sweeps us along in its Godward movement and gives us a superb education, both supernatural and natural. In it grace and nature, the soul and the body, the individual and the community, the Divine and the human, are united and directed to the supreme and eternal work of the human race—to be sanctified by the Holy Spirit and to give glory to the Father through and with the Incarnate Son. Small wonder then that we are convinced that a rich Liturgical Life, centring in the daily Sung Mass and Communion and some part at least of the Divine Office, must be the source of all the work of mind and body, which our students will be called upon to do! *Nihil operi Dei praeponatur.*

But we must bring to the Liturgy minds and hearts, ready to live by its life. This need will give us the guiding principle of our Curriculum. Think of the implications of the Liturgy! All Christian doctrine is involved and expressed in its acts, words, gestures and symbols. The Scriptures are read. The central fact of Transubstantiation leads us to the heart of Metaphysics. The outward signs, the creatures of the natural world, water, oil, bread, wine, speech, bodily movements lead us to consider what this world of phenomena is in itself, caught up as it here is in the Liturgy to be the vehicle of the Divine humanity of Our Lord, ever our priest, sanctifying and redeeming us, communicating to us through these humble instruments the infinite riches of His Redemption. Yet this world of things has its own field of knowledge, the Natural Sciences. In the Liturgy, we are united to the past. The act of sacrifice is as old as humanity. The only perfect Sacrifice, offered on a definite day in a province of the Roman Empire, is sacramentally ours daily. The words and gestures of our worship come to us from our fathers and will be handed on by us to our sons. We are persons in a great cosmic process. We are vital moments in History—the unfolding of the Divine plan, the struggle between good and evil. The Liturgical readings are also parts of the heritage of Literature—the expression in words of man's meditations and reactions to the problems of his destiny, to the spectacle of good and evil, truth and falsehood, the beautiful and the ugly. The Liturgy is a social act—*The* social act. In it, the hierarchies are perfectly balanced and bear their finest fruit by the co-operation of all of every rank. We have the supreme model of a Christian society, the archetype in which is expressed in transcendent form the Church's Social Doctrine. Christ is our Prophet, our Priest and our King. Finally at the *Ite Missa Est* we are sent to carry Him to our world, a world

then we must know, and in the profoundest sense love, for the good that is in its twisted, pathetic aspirations. Of that world, we shall need to make a survey.

Here then is our Curriculum, derived in its essence, from the central act of our daily life—The Mass: Christian Doctrine, Scripture, Liturgy, Metaphysics, Natural Science, History, Literature, Christian Social Doctrine, Current Survey.

It may be objected that to attempt to provide teaching in all these branches of study is impossible in a five or six months' course; nothing but a superficial and therefore dangerous knowledge could be given. Our pupils will go home with little more than swollen heads. This criticism would be unanswerable were we to pretend we were offering a training of an academic character. Such a claim we do not put forward. Our aim is rather to show the nature, scope and value of each discipline, the answers it gives to the great human problems, their relations to one another: to show too, how the eternal facts of the Faith illumine all knowledge and how the Divine Life of the Church enables every Catholic to be, through prayer and the sacraments, a vital cell in the Mystical Body of Christ, a true apostle and a responsible citizen of both the heavenly and the temporal kingdoms.

The method of teaching would be unacademic. In fact, there would be need of a new type of teacher, for the talks lead to immediate discussion and the chief part of the teacher's work will be done by personal contact. He will live a fully corporate life, joining in the Liturgy, the study and the manual work, entertaining students in his family circle, teaching the pupils individually as well as in a body. He must indeed be the servant of all.

We have mentioned manual work. Here again, our starting-point is the Liturgy. The upkeep of the sanctuary, its furnishings and maintenance, the ministering to the bodily needs of our fellow-worshippers—all this will provide ample opportunity for manual work done in a spirit of love and service, manual work that will be personal, calling for self-sacrifice, responsibility, perseverance, skill, conscientiousness, in short all the virtues of the good worker. It would be wrong for our students to live in a kind of miniature Leisure State, their minds at work, their bodies idle, their needs wholly supplied by hired servants. It is obvious that they will not have time to do all the work of the house, but, if they come in sufficient numbers, they will be able to help with most of it. Many of them, we earnestly hope, will be workers by profession. We should be doing them a disservice were we to give them the impression that manual labour and study are incompatible.

This then, in broad outline, is the ideal College our Association has in mind. Whether it will ever come into being, we cannot yet know. Perhaps the Church in England as a body rather than one little group of Catholics will establish Colleges on these lines under the direction of the Hierarchy. We are convinced that there is a genuine need for Catholic adult education and if it should not be God's will that we should found a College of the type on which we have set our hearts, we pray that the work we have done and the ideals we have served, may be of some use to the Catholic adult education movement.

Here, we may meet with two objections. Is there indeed a need for such a College? Granted there is, the long residential course is impossible for most of our people, so what do you intend in practice to do? We will attempt to answer these questions. As regards the first, this is surely the place to pay tribute to the work of the Catholic Social Guild and the

Catholic Workers' College, Oxford. Fr. Plater long ago saw the need for Catholic adult education. The pioneer work of the C.S.G., and the Workers' College is an outstanding example to us all. It is good to know that Fr. O'Hea is back at Walton Well Rd., and that the College has now its complement of post-war students. The author of this article owes more to Fr. O'Hea and the generous hospitality of the Workers' College than he can ever hope to repay. If he thought the Association for Catholic People's Colleges was in any way undermining or clashing with their work, he would sever his connection with it at once. But he is convinced that such is not the case. The needs the Workers' College so successfully meet and those our hypothetical College would try to meet are similar indeed and yet are quite distinct. If we consider the situation of Catholics in England to-day, this should become clear.

We do not think it is generally realized that as soon as the New Education Act is fully implemented, many of our children, outside a few large towns, may be forced to leave our Catholic Schools at the age of eleven! Their only contacts with the teaching of the Church will be, in most cases, their homes and Sunday Mass. Parents will have to be able and ready to instruct their children in the beliefs and practice of their religion by word and example. Many of our 11+ children will assist on Sunday at a low Mass, possibly without a sermon. Some of them may see a Catholic paper, read Catholic books, join Catholic societies and clubs. The latter need trained leaders. Again, converts after their period of instruction have few opportunities of learning more of their religion, unless they are accustomed to reading or live in predominantly Catholic areas. The author, who has had experience of Study Club work, knows how often erroneous ideas spoil a person's life, how often too, life-long Catholics have an immature grasp of doctrine. Their knowledge of secular subjects has grown with their advance in adult life: their knowledge of their religion, its depths, its implications, has not always progressed at the same pace.

Other arguments could be brought forward. But any one of those mentioned is, we maintain, sufficient to our purpose. Will not our students be the parents either of the present or the future? Will not some at least be willing to accept responsible work in their parishes? Will not many converts be only too glad to experience that corporate Catholic life they have never known in home or school? The affection many of them have for the houses of religious orders may well spring from just this desire for a corporate Catholic life. Do our parishes give a shining example of it? Or indeed under present circumstances, can they?

The second objection is more weighty. In November, 1945, the author spoke on our proposals to a meeting of Bolton Catholics. They received our suggestions with enthusiasm but made it quite clear that under existing economic standards, the five-months course would be impossible, save for the heroic or fortunate few who would or could throw over their jobs. It is possible that, as general adult education comes into being, legislation may be introduced to enable workers to attend residential schools without prejudice to their security of tenure. Such indeed is the declared policy of the T.U.C. In which case, the difficulty would presumably be overcome, unless the Government refused to recognize a Catholic People's College as coming within the meaning of the Act. However, we are prepared to view the five-months course as a distant ideal to be kept always in mind. In practice, we should have to organize a series of weekly



and week-end Courses throughout the year. We should never consider these as more than specimens of the real thing or as a mere beginning. The danger of superficiality and shallow enthusiasm would be only too real. But we should have to be content with these humble efforts towards the full course.

We may be said to have begun already. The Association was founded on the Feast of the Assumption, 1945, during an experimental Catholic People's Week. We have already mentioned the Bolton week-end. Our Oxford branch held a similar one, and a Catholic People's Week was organized at St. Gabriel's, Harborne, Birmingham, shortly after Christmas, 1945. At all of these, an attempt has been made to lead the life of the College, if only for a short period. There is therefore great stress on the corporate spirit and in particular the daily community Mass and Communion. There is a daily chant-practice, so that all may join in the singing of the Ordinary. Sung Compline brings each day to a close. At Birmingham, we were on Catholic premises and in addition to Mass and Compline, we were able to have half-an-hour of mental prayer each evening in the chapel. Meals have been in common with grace before and after them. The talks have been given by both priests and laymen. We have tried to make each course of lectures a sample of our proposed curriculum. The titles of those already given are the following —

Christian Doctrine :—The Mass, the Christian Sacrifice.

Scripture :—The Gospel of St. John.

History :—Catholic Life in the Middle Ages.

Literature :—St. Augustine's "City of God."

After Supper, individual talks have been given. Here are their titles :—

The Catholic Workers' College.

Cardinal Newman.

The Catholic Worker newspaper.

Catholic life in the University of Oxford.

Catholics and Literature.

At our week at Oxford, which was held from August the 24th to the 31st, 1946, the programme of lectures was the following :—

Christian Doctrine :—The Scope and Methods of Theology.

History :—The Church in Apostolic Times.

Science :—The Vocation of the Catholic Scientist.

The Liturgy and the life of a Catholic People's College.

Since then, a short booklet has been published giving some account of the origins of the Association and its principles.

Meanwhile, we beg the reader's prayers for God's blessing on our work.

REGINALD F. TREVETT.

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## II. OUR CONTEMPORARIES

Last month we referred to the Catholic weekly, *America*, published by the Jesuit Fathers in New York. There is a companion Catholic weekly, also published in New York, namely *The Commonweal*. An independent paper, it is directed by Edward Skillin, Jnr., with the assistance of C. G. Paulding, John Broderick and Harry Lorin Binsse. It was edited some years back by Michael Williams. Politically and internationally, it has now much the same outlook as *America* but on certain issues of the recent past, e.g., the Spanish Civil War, its attitude was more detached and critical than that of its contemporary or that of any of the Catholic weeklies in Britain. After some introductory comments, dealing frequently with domestic problems, it provides two or three articles, notes on Stage and Screen, and a handful of book reviews. The articles are often written from foreign countries and have a freshness and actuality in their presentation; and the editors are not afraid of the unfamiliar or even the unpopular point of view. Turning the pages of a recent issue, that for March 21st, I discover an article by Evelyn Waugh, which appeared previously in the *London Tablet*, namely "The Jesuit Who Was Thursday," and an account of a visit to London by the Irish writer, Alice Curtayne. Its title was "London's Woe." The lady is not referring to Mr. Shinwell or any of our—at the moment—less popular politicians. No, it is real woe she is talking about. Her week in London, she declares, was "the most macabre experience" of her life. She found nothing, it appears, but gloom and woe and depression, along with winter and rough weather. What an atmosphere of Edgar Allan Poe we Londoners have been living in, without really noticing it, till our visitor arrived from West of the Irish Sea! Well, we have had our troubles, and have them still. They might have called for the admiration of visitors or at least their sympathy. Readers of George Birmingham's stories of Ireland will remember how the Irish used to pull the leg of English visitors. Now, apparently, the process is reversed.

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*Thought* is a quarterly review, issued by Fordham University in New York. A scholarly production, it includes articles and lengthy book reviews in the fields of Literature, Philosophy, History, Religion, Education, Science and Current Affairs. There are also some shorter articles on selected topics. The March issue for 1947 has four such shorter articles, one of them an appreciation of Bishop Neuhäusler's book, *Kreuz und Hakenkreuz*, on the Nazi attacks against the Catholic Church in Germany, another by Gabriel Marcel on the notion of Liberty in the philosophy of Jean Paul Sartre.

The longer articles treat of "The Spanish Question in World Politics" (by Ross Hoffman, who is Head of the History Department in Fordham's Graduate School), "Diplomacy in Ideological Fetters," by Robert Ingram, and "Philosophical Themes in G. M. Hopkins," by James Collins. There is an English version of the first of the Notre Dame conferences of 1946, delivered by Père Michel Riquet, and an article, contributed by Don Luigi Sturzo, who has recently returned to Italy after many years in Britain and the United States, on the Problem of Education. From the material point of view, *Thought* is admirably produced. To those of us who still write and edit in the lean paper years, it is a vision from the years of plenty.

Turning back to Europe, I have just seen two numbers of *Travaux de l'Action Populaire*, the monthly review of *Action Populaire* of Vanves, near Paris, which takes the place of the *Dossiers de l'Action Populaire*, that were published prior to 1940. Like our Catholic Social Guild, the *Action Populaire* is concerned with the application of Catholic principles to social and economic questions. In the March and April numbers for this year may be found articles on "The Social Teaching of Pope Pius XII," "The Origins of a Planned Economy," and on "Moral Aspects of Social Security." International problems are also considered, e.g. in a study of the Danube as an international river.

Of particular interest to British readers in these numbers is an article, in two parts, on the situation of Catholics in Great Britain. The author is M. Maurice Guichot de Fortis. He knows his Britain well and is thoroughly conversant with the remarkable development of Catholicism in Britain during the past hundred years. The article is a pleasing blend of history and the appreciation of Catholic work and activity at the present time. It pays a graceful tribute to the church attendance and fervour of British Catholics, which he contrasts with the attitude towards their churches of members of Protestant denominations. Yet he is alive to the hold which the Church of England still retains on many English minds, for reasons that are historical and national as much as religious. His article complements, for French readers, the article published by Père Jouve in *Etudes* after his visit to this country; it provides a background for the actualities, that Père Jouve describes in closer detail.

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One of the brightest and most live of all missionary magazines is the *Pylon*, edited by Mother Mary St. Luke from the Roman house of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, 10 Via Boncompagni. The annual subscription for Britain is four shillings. Admirably produced, with news and articles, and a number of illustrations, large and small, it tells of the missionary work of the Holy Child nuns in Nigeria. There is always a Roman note about this magazine; in the April issue for 1947 particularly so. Father Martindale resumes his "Letters from Their Aunts," the first series of which appeared in the *Pylon* prior to 1939, when they were published in book form. These are letters written by characters, real and imaginary, contemporary with St. Paul, and they fill in the background of the Pauline Epistles and the Acts in a charming and yet historical way. So much for ancient Rome and the Roman world of the mid first century. There is another series of sketches, continued in this issue—No. 28 of the "Aspects of Rome," under the pen name of Augusta L. Francis. The proverbial wild horses will not compel me to betray the authoress, except to say that she knows and loves her Rome, as few English or American women can have had the chance to do. The *Pylon* has several pages for the young. No girls' school can afford to do without it, and there is plenty of material in it, grave and gay, for young and not quite so youthful.

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# REVIEWS

## CLAUDEL AND THOMISM<sup>1</sup>

IN a recent broadcast in the Third Programme, Etienne Gilson outlined the chief trends of thought in France to-day. Three philosophies of life, each of which is also a *mystique*, dispute the allegiance of Frenchmen: the form of existentialism popularised by Jean Paul Sartre, the communism of Aragon, and lastly Thomism. Gilson modestly refrained from naming the leading exponents of Thomism; but he is himself the most sympathetic of them for most readers, though he does not set out to be a protagonist of the system in the same way as, say, Maritain. But perhaps, for many Frenchmen not given to formal philosophising, the most inspiring interpreter of Thomism has been Paul Claudel. It is this aspect of his work that M. Friche has in view in these *Etudes Claudéliennes*, of which this is the first volume.

The first long chapter, however, traces the life-time of up-hill struggle in which Claudel fought for the recognition, not of his own genius, but of the tremendous æsthetic possibilities of poetry inspired by Catholic symbolism. I can still remember the shock I felt, some years ago, at a viva with a learned French critic professing at London University, when he roundly repudiated Claudel as "presque pas français." French university men have been unsympathetic and uncomprehending in their reaction to Claudel for over forty years. As late as 1931 the Academicians were still hostile to the new star in the firmament, and preferred to co-opt a mediocre novelist providing poor imitations of Pierre Loti. It required the impact of war and defeat to rectify this injustice. But what is more curious to study, amid the ever-growing recognition of Claudel's greatness, is the persistence, in the twenties and thirties, of surprising exceptions in no way due to prejudice or malice. Such different points of view as those of *Etudes* and H. Bremond were at one in failing to see his greatness. However, the apologist of romanticism capitulated to the Catholic symbolist before the conservative custodians of Catholic classicism. *La Vie Intellectuelle*, to its lasting credit, had backed the winner all the way. But the disturbing thing is that some leading Catholic critics, notably Pierre Lasserre and Henri Massis, resolutely fought against Claudel from 1920 onwards, on strictly literary and artistic grounds, and many shared their misgivings. Abroad, the popularity of Claudel grew and spread rapidly, but in France it was not until the middle thirties that recognition began to be general and there is still reluctance in some quarters.

The rest of M. Friche's volume gives promise of affording us the most profound analysis of Claudel's work in terms of art and theology. When complete, these studies should provide the most penetrating *exposé* of the genesis of this modern *Divina Commedia* for readers well versed in modern French Literature and possessing some knowledge of Catholic theology. From this it is clear that we have here no mere *vulgarisation*, but a product of mature reflection and scholarship.

The second study deals with the influences that Claudel experienced before receiving the full light of faith and before his discovery of Thomism.

<sup>1</sup> *Etudes Claudéliennes*. By Ernest Friche. Porrentruy: Editions des Portes de France. Pp. xxiv, 240. 1943



The astonishing factor in this "spiritual Aeneid" is the influence of Rimbaud, who will always remain a mystery man, apparently determined on being like God but wanting at all costs to be so without the grace of God. Yet he was the man whom Providence chose to lead Claudel back to the Church and the fervent practice of his religion. It was from Rimbaud that Claudel also learned his conception of symbolist poetry as a quasi-creation, a translation in human words of the rhythm of divine creation.

But before Claudel could develop to the full such a deeply metaphysical, as well as poetical, interpretation of this world, he needed to make a discovery that was quite decisive in its effect on his life and work. It was a wise move on the part of his director to recommend, to this one-time *déraciné* now beginning to take root again in Catholic thought, the study of St. Thomas in the *Summa*, just as it stands. As far back as the nineties, Claudel became an ardent Thomist of purest ray serene. Not merely scholasticism, but intimate familiarity with and close adherence to St. Thomas himself, became the source of his most brilliant ideas on religion and life, art and poetry. Wisely he refrained from parading his Thomism in his earlier works. After the first world war the extraordinary vogue of Thomism in the most varied circles enabled him to reveal his allegiance confidently, some would say aggressively or even ostentatiously. Incidentally, it was only in 1928 that he came to know St. Bonaventure, through Gilson's fascinating work. M. Friche promises to deal with the results of this *rencontre* in a later study.

The chapter on "L'Univers poème divin" introduces us at last into the heart of Claudelian symbolism and reveals the all-pervading presence of Thomist principles of theology and æsthetics. The Thomist *ars poetica*, as exposed by Claudel, is based on the conception of this visible world as God's poem. *Omne agens agit sibi simile*: the world is designed to be a reflection of God and of the inexhaustible imitability of the divine essence. But just as the universe is God's reflection, so the poet conceives within himself a reflection of the universe. Lastly, in his poetry he expresses and embodies this reflection in another, which is itself a reflection of his own mind, and so of the world, and so of God. The purpose of poetry, as of all creation, is to enable things of sense to be the vehicle and medium of spiritual perception. In this respect it is not such a far cry from Baudelaire, Rimbaud and Mallarmé to Catholic theology and mysticism. M. Friche works out this 'poetry-creation analogy' and exemplifies the theory with a virtuosity that is quite astonishing. Many would find it hard going, but it will repay the effort. Those who persevere will look forward with keen interest to further studies of "L'Univers miroir divin," or how Claudel's world mirrors forth the infinite goodness and beauty of God, Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

JOHN DUGGAN.

#### A PROPHET OF OUR TIMES<sup>1</sup>

IF Léon Bloy is even now not fully appreciated in France, no wonder if this volcanic man is known to but few of us placid and incredibly patient Englishmen. But we do know Maritain: and when we hear that Bloy was, under God, responsible for the conversion of that relentless intellectualist, we dare not disregard Léon Bloy. Probably he will offend nearly all our temperamental prejudices. We may feel he confused poverty with squalor (and made his wife and children pay for it): our maybe pharisaic

'moralism' may be distressed by the clash between his behaviour and his faith: we may feel that the more a Christian is in love with suffering, the less he ought to talk about it: we grant that he was steeped in the Scriptures but may find his constant appeal to their 'symbolic' sense altogether arbitrary and his treatment of history—erudite as he was—almost grotesque: our tradition of urbanity (possibly veiling an ever-increasing scepticism—perhaps it is because we are again beginning to believe in *something*, that Parliamentary sessions are turning so often into slanging-matches) makes us dislike Bloy's violent invective directed against anyone, Catholic or not, whom he considered 'bourgeois': and, while we appreciate deep convictions well-controlled, we tend to be tired by a man whose whole life was a series of eruptions and explosions.

We have, however, to admit that here was a man who placed himself at the 'Absolute' as centre and, observing how hideous and how stupid, how conceited and how cruel the modern world had become owing to its self-idolatry, perhaps he could not but project himself against it like a kind of spiritual atomic bomb. He was immensely impressed by having been born in 1846, the year of the enigmatic apparitions and prophecies of La Salette. He was haunted by the memory of our Lady of Tears, struggling to uphold the arm—grown all-but too heavy—of her angered Son. He, too, felt he must prophesy and must see in history little but a *crescendo* of rehearsals of the ultimate cataclysm. The Byzantine empire. . . . Marie Antoinette . . . Napoleon . . . the Franco-Prussian war in which he fought; even that war of 1914-18 during which he died.

But, say what we will, we cannot help wishing that some of the great French Catholic writers were *happier*: Bernanos, for instance, Mauriac. True, Mr. Bruce Marshall, in *France*, wrote "Yellow Candles for Paris," a book almost wholly sordid: but his "Fr. Malachy's Miracle" and "All Glorious Within" showed that he well understood and recognised happiness. So does Mr. Graham Greene. So assuredly did Chesterton, though so piercingly clear-sighted as to our sick society. Bloy often describes himself as experiencing "love, joy, peace," those first fruits of the Holy Ghost: but you rather have to take his word for it! It remains that though he was so acutely conscious of Christ's enduring Calvary, and of the *Dies Irae*, he undoubtedly believed in the Resurrection. Upon this, and on Pentecost, we all of us undoubtedly have to fix our eyes.

The translation of this work is excellent, i.e., it does not read like one; and the author has rightly added a brief biography of Bloy, which helps us to know about him if not perhaps really to understand him.

C.C.M.

<sup>1</sup> *Léon Bloy: A Study in Impatience.* By Albert Béguin. Translated by Edith M. Riley. London: Sheed and Ward. Pp. 247. Price, 12s. 6d. n. 1947.

## SHORT NOTICES

### NON-CATHOLIC

Two fresh volumes have recently come out in the *St. Paul's Library* (The Canterbury Press: 6s. n. each). This library is a collection of books for the layman and its preoccupation is to present the "distinctively Anglican interpretation of evangelical theology" in response to the contemporary reaction from liberalism and the quickened interest, among churchmen and religious people, in dogmatic Christianity. It is a fine ideal.

**The Church of God**, by the Rev. F. J. Taylor, formerly of Wycliffe Hall, Oxford, is very conscious of the unsatisfyingness of 'individualistic' religion, outside a community and an appreciated relationship to the Body of Christ; he is also conscious that in fact individualism has often gone hand in hand with clericalization of Church life. In consequence he can write well of matters that are still not sufficiently stressed and is full of things that are a delight to read. It is a misfortune in this book, however, that the scope of the Library as a whole makes for summary statement and inaccurate generalization and precludes the marshalling of evidence—even scriptural evidence—and the discussion of it that might well have given crispness and vigour to many interesting passages. Mr. Taylor's book is a noble one and says some fine things well; but one is bothered with insistent questions—what is his concept of supernatural life or of a Christian Sacrament, or what—at the root of the matter—is fellowship? "For the Rule of God was really present in the word preached and it created a people ruled by God wherever its power was manifested" (p. 42). But what does this *mean*? And if it means what it seems to, is it really a description of how the new Israel came to be?

It is a pity, too, that Mr. Taylor's animus against Popery tricks him into silliness: "Thus it came about that in the thousand years of Christian thinking which lie between Augustine and the Reformation the doctrine of the Church was scarcely mentioned" (p. 86). Yet the most casual glance at writings of Père de Lubac, who is himself no great lover of the later Middle Ages, would have taught him better. And he has no notion of what the Roman teaching about the Papacy really is, or indeed of the *magisterium*.

In spite of some strange ideas about history, however, and of an absence of toughness from its thinking in theology or in scriptural exegesis, the book touches spiritual nobility and has a sense of the soul's anguish and need and hope.

**The Inner Life**, by the Rev. W. F. P. Chadwick, is again a book that is topical: it envisages our guilts and bewilderments and anonymities—"I have never cared," he quotes, "whether a face was pretty or plain so long as its owner owned it"; and it takes some pains to sterilize the feeling that personal religion is anti-social. It is well written and with many beauties of teaching distilled from Wesley and von Hügel and Abbot Marmion and others. The author's sanity and temper may be illustrated by a quotation that is characteristic. The teaching of Barth he finds depressing because it is largely an encouraging explanation of what is, after all, defeat. "'We are all in a tunnel,' says the Barthian. 'The Christian is sustained by the knowledge that it has an outlet.' . . . If it is God's will that we should pass our time here in a sewer, well and good. But is it? Is salvation meant to be a large and generous experience, or is it sufficient to express it in the terms of legal acquittal? Everything we can learn about God's dealing with the soul emphasises the generosity of that dealing. 'His mercy is above all his works'."

## LITERARY

From 548 to 1085 the Irish were the dispensers of culture to Europe west of the Danube, and anything that helps to reconstruct the intellectual life of those times is to be welcomed. Fr. W. G. Most in a dissertation on **The Syntax of the Vitæ Sanctorum Hiberniæ** (Catholic University of America Press) has devoted himself to one of the less spectacular but essential tasks of that elucidation. Perhaps, after his efforts, it will be more easy to

ascribe to Irish authors some of the unclaimed Latin treatises which the Abbé Migne so quietly tucked away as appendices to well-known writers such as Augustine. The chief weakness of these Celts seems to have been the gerund and gerundive, and there one can sympathize with them. It is disconcerting for an English reader to find Fr. Most citing Lewis and Short as Harpers' Dictionary. He does not tackle the philological question of the possible survival in both Irish and Latin of usages from a parent language of the Indo-European family.

## DOCTRINAL

In **Letters from Rush Green** (B. O. & W. : 8s. 6d. n.) Fr. John C. Heenan gives in popular form the arguments for a number of fundamental Christian truths. The chief discussions are on the nature of man, the existence of God, free-will, the problem of evil ; the approach to, and nature of, Faith, the historicity of the Gospels, the Resurrection, the Divinity of Christ, the Sacraments, the Mass. As a not unimportant background, there is a good deal of pastoral theology—e.g., how to treat a prospective convert, the Catholic approach to marriage (both theory and practice), the lay-apostolate. The whole is cast in the form of letters from a priest to his niece—a useful device, but made cumbersome by the reader being given the whole correspondence in the priest's letters alone. The early part of the book, where the arguments are aimed at convincing a modern and materialistically-minded young man, is well done, and objections are given their due attention. The last part, directed more to the Catholic, is less adequate, both in choice of topics and in the scope of treatment. But the author's style is interesting ; he uses many happy similes to illustrate his arguments, and all the time he is in touch with his readers. The book should be especially useful to the top class in secondary schools, to study-circles, to Catholic undergraduates and other students, and in general to any who want to master for themselves and pass on to others those basic truths which are dealt with at length in the book.

## PASTORAL

We are happy to welcome the new edition of **Priest and Penitent**, by the Rev. John C. Heenan (Douglas Organ : 3s. 6d. n.). The writer handles his dogmatic and moral proofs with skilful ease and sets them down with simplicity and clarity. Catholics will find the work instructive and stimulating ; non-Catholics will find it illuminating. The chapters on the Sacrament and the Confessor are particularly well done and the whole makes very easy reading. It is a pity that the publishers should have given such a drab cover and poor format to an otherwise attractive treatise.

## BIBLICAL

It is a pleasure to welcome another issue of the excellent *Verbum Salutis* series. The fact that it is no. XIV of the series takes us by surprise, making us realise that we must have missed some of its predecessors ; we regret therefore that the full list of them is not printed in the book, perhaps in place of the advertisements on the back. The volume is entitled **Saint Paul : épître aux Galates : épîtres aux Thessaloniens** (Beauchesne, Paris : price not indicated) : the epistles are translated with full introductions and fairly copious notes, by Père Amiot, professor at Saint-Sulpice, who among his other writings has produced two important volumes on *L'Enseignement de Saint Paul* in the *Etudes Bibliques* series. The grouping



together of these three epistles is implicitly defended (p. 7) by the suggestion that they are probably the three earliest of the New Testament writings. This implies the early date for *Galatians*, a highly contestable hypothesis, defended here at some length, which it would take far too much space to attempt here to confute. On the other hand, it is a relief to find that Père Amiot is a "South Galatian"; the case against the "North Galatian" theory, which he argues well, is so strong that it is difficult to believe that it will always hold its ground. But even if *Galatians* was written early, it would still have been wiser to publish it in the same volume as *Romans*, for the main theme is largely the same, and in important respects the two epistles are mutually complementary. *Galatians*, in fact, contains much of the argument of *Romans*, and much of the vehement personal attack and defence of *II Corinthians*, which in the case of an author of such psychological sensibility as St. Paul is itself an argument that it should come between them. In commenting upon the Thessalonian epistles it was almost inevitable that the editor should feel driven to write much upon New Testament eschatology in general, which almost needs a volume to itself in the series. In I Thess., iv, 15, 17, the words *nous les vivants*, are perhaps explained more easily (as in I Cor. xv, 52), if it be supposed that St. Paul is simply dealing with the two categories as proposed to him, "we the living," and "the dead." But here, as always, Père Amiot proves himself a competent commentator, and he has made a welcome and valuable addition to our New Testament resources.

## FICTION

We are delighted to welcome Mr. Douglas Newton's new volume, with the title of *The Beggar and Other Stories* (Douglas Organ : 9s. 6d. n.). They are indeed the work of a master of that difficult craft—short story writing. In each of them the reader's attention is gripped; the denouement is never obvious until the author has brought you up to it at his own pace and in his own way. Out of many good tales, our favourite is *The Beggar*, with its moving account of a lapsed Catholic and the strange and wonderful manner in which God directs him back again to the Church. The stories are very Catholic in setting and atmosphere, but always virile and vivid. They show how God works in mysterious ways to fulfil His purposes; yet the "ways" shown blend happily with the stories. The element of the religious is never dragged in to solve the author's literary problems. This is a book to buy and keep.

## PRESENT-DAY PROBLEMS

From the Standard House, Dublin, at the price of three shillings and sixpence, comes *Archbishop Stepinac : The Man and His Case*, by Count O'Brien of Thomond; there is a foreword by the Archbishop of Dublin. The author has known Yugoslavia for a quarter of a century, and lived there for five years, half of that time in Zagreb, where he was a close friend of Mgr. Stepinac. From personal knowledge he tells of the Archbishop's outlook; what he did to ease the tension between the Croat Peasant Party and the pre-war Belgrade Government, and how he opposed both Serb and Croat extremists. The attitude of the Archbishop to the Germans and the Pavelić administration during the war is illustrated, very tellingly, in extracts from Swiss (non-Catholic) newspapers, like the *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, the *National Zeitung*, and *Basler Nachrichten*, as also from the *News Digest*, published by the Ministry of Information in London. A tribute

is paid to his relief and humanitarian work. The author speaks of the advent to power of "Tito," of the trials of Catholic priests and laymen, and the attempt to incriminate the Archbishop through one of his secretaries, Dr. Shalić. Finally, there is the story of the Archbishop's "trial" and of his one speech, lasting 38 minutes, in which he accused his accusers of the murder of from 260 to 270 priests. "You committed a grave error, a great miscalculation," he declared, "when you started to kill priests. The people will never forget it and will never forgive you for it." He accused his accusers of taking away all Catholic schools; of looting the Catholic seminary of all its furniture and property; of destroying the Catholic Press; of abolishing Catholic orphanages and institutions for the poor. He spoke of their attacks upon bishops and of the blasphemy now officially taught in Yugoslav schools. At the end of the book is a section which recalls comments upon this "trial" from non-Catholic sources, e.g. from Mr. Dean Acheson, Acting Secretary of State in the U.S.A., and Mr. Winston Churchill, from many Protestant ministers in America, and the head of the Serbian Orthodox in the U.S.A. and Canada, as also from editorials in *The New York Times*, *The New York Herald Tribune*, *The New Leader*, *The Ottawa Journal*, and the Swiss *Basler Nachrichten* and *Die Tat*. A timely and valuable handbook which ought to be read and spread as widely as possible.

## APOLOGETICAL

A second impression of **Papist Pie**, at half a crown, brings us once again that admirable collection of Questions and Answers, gathered from the wartime pages of *Stella Maris*. The Osterley vogue of the snappy reply to the topical difficulty, that was invented by Fr. Edmund Lester, is happily continued by Fr. Clement Tigar. Material is arranged under chapter and question headings, and the text illustrated by small line drawings. The first of these entertaining pictures is of a nun "looking like a bomber about to take off," and it sets the general character. The book does not pretend to give a course of instruction, though a good deal of instruction is packed into its bright and readable pages. It is just the book to hand to an enquiring or a critical non-Catholic. I do not like the new cover, featuring a demon in cook's attire, serving this "Papist Pie" to an expectant—or is it alarmed?—prelate at table. I much prefer the simplicity of the original cover.

## MISCELLANEOUS

For close on two years the *Catholic Herald* has carried as a regular feature **Catholic Profiles** (Paternoster Publications, 67 Fleet Street: 4s. 6d. n.). They are short sketches of Catholic men and women, each with a photograph. Here is a collection of the first fifty of them. It is inevitable that a good number of the profiles are those of literary people; surprising that only two of the Catholic M.P.'s are included; pleasant to find in the same gathering Mr. Ted Kavanagh, who writes the scripts for *Itma*, and Mr. Christopher Dawson, who is delivering this year's Gifford Lectures in the University of Edinburgh. It is a book of Catholic commoners, with only one Bart. to introduce the suspicion of a title. Its subjects are, in the main, lay folk; less than one-fifth of the sketches are of priests. Converts and cradle-Catholics appear to be neatly blended, with the emphasis, I think, upon the latter.

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